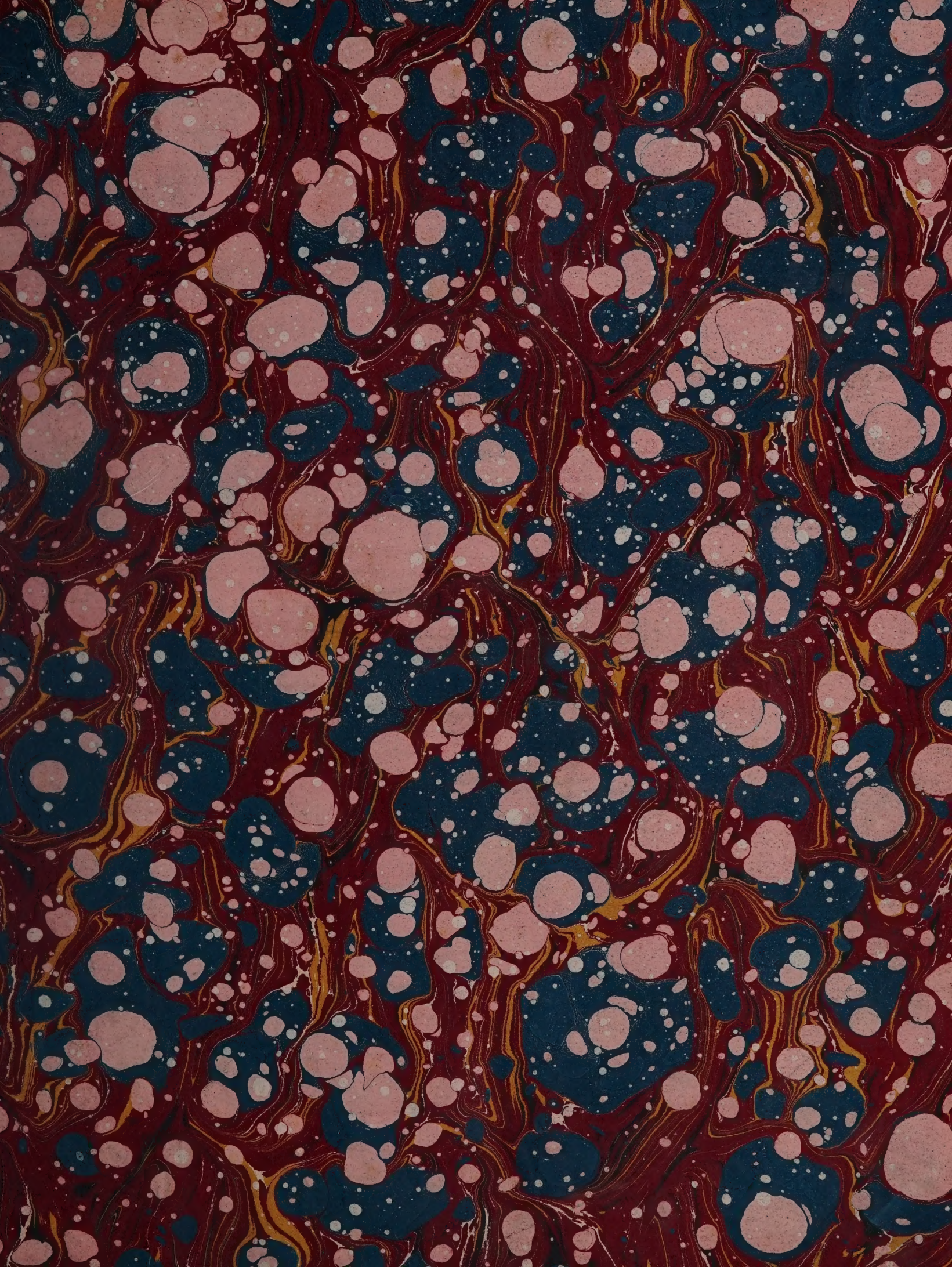

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London. Published April 22.d 1811 by Richard Phillips. N.o 7 New Bridge Street.

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Oct 29/78

A REPORT

UPON THE

Herculaneum Manuscripts,

IN A

SECOND LETTER,

ADDRESSED, BY PERMISSION,

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE REGENT,

BY THE

REV. JOHN HAYTER, A.M.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE PRINCE,
AND HIS SUPERINTENDENT OF THOSE MANUSCRIPTS.

——————————— præbetur Origo
Per Cinerem. CLAUDIAN.

London:
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, No. 7, BRIDGE STREET;
BY GEORGE SIDNEY, NORTHUMBERLAND STREET, STRAND.

1811.

WELLCOME
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MEDICAL
LIBRARY

PREFATORY REMARK.

Two or three references are necessarily made in this Second Letter to the First, which was addressed to the same Illustrious Personage. For this reason a new and corrected Edition of that First Letter is subjoined to the present.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE REGENT.

SIR,

IT must be regarded by every person, as a very distinguished honour to me, to have been selected by your Royal Highness for the arduous and important charge, and direction of restoring to light the contents of the celebrated Herculaneum Manuscripts.

Before my departure from England, in 1800, I was most graciously permitted to represent the whole scope of this literary mission, in a printed

letter, addressed to your Royal Highness, as the great and illustrious Patron of the undertaking. Since my return, that letter has, with the same gracious permission, been reprinted, in order to correct some errors, which a want of local, as well as accurate, information had unavoidably occasioned.

But of infinitely more consequence is the advantage, which I now enjoy, of addressing to your Royal Highness, in this letter, a faithful and detailed account of every circumstance, transaction, and occurrence, which, in any manner, are connected with the nature, the commencement, the prosecution, and the result of the undertaking, of which the successful, at least very promising, course was interrupted, most unfortunately, in the year 1806, by the French invasion of the Neapolitan territory. Hence it will clearly appear, I most confidently trust, that, notwithstanding that invasion, notwithstanding

all the weakness, the ignorance, the jealousy, and the treachery, which, from several quarters, were conducive to the purpose of impeding, or counteracting, the progress of my labours, yet the Commands of your Royal Highness, in this most princely work, have been executed to a greater extent, than could have been reasonably presumed. In truth, the *fac simile* copies of ninety-four manuscripts, lately transferred, by your wise and munificent donation, through the hands of that most distinguished, both scholar and statesman,—that, upon every consideration, most respectable nobleman, Lord Grenville,—to the University of Oxford, will, unquestionably, serve to immortalize your name in every future generation, more especially of the learned world.

Nor was your Royal interposition, in this instance, merely glorious; it was, happily, too, most seasonable. In any court, where an indifference, to any degree, prevails against the pur-

suits, and interests of knowledge, and erudition in general, treasures, inestimable treasures, of ancient literature, like these manuscripts of Herculaneum, although composed in the two classical languages, could not engage a single thought, much less any regard, or attention whatsoever. Besides, the crisis itself, and, particularly, the ruinous expences of a war with the common enemy, rendered it nearly impracticable for the embarrassed sovereign of the two Sicilies, even if he had been so disposed, to promote the attainment of literary objects, by dedicating to them any part of his concern, or of his revenue.

You, most illustrious SIR, are the only Royal Personage, at the present era, of those high and disinterested sentiments, which, renouncing every personal view, every selfish regard, excite a philanthropic zeal, an humane ambition, to form and to advance any great design, which may tend to some laudable and beneficial end. To yourself

alone these despondent relics of old Greece and Rome could have had recourse for the vindication of their merits, and even for the protection of their existence. To the Prince of Wales alone could they, with any hope of success, offer their supplications in the language of a former and similar occasion, in these expressions of

——— Μαθήμασι νῦν δε Παλαιῶν
Ἑλλήνων, ᾽ω᾽ναξ, ᾽αρκεσον ᾽οιχομένοις.

But, in estimating their claim upon your Royal interference, it should be recollected, these Manuscripts relied not only upon the two classical languages, in which they are written, but also upon their age itself, which outruns the date of any other Manuscripts upon earth. Why should I say their age? In truth, the date of their very loss exceeds by centuries the age, howsoever great it may be, of all other books and autographs,

which have survived the wreck of ancient learning; and their developement, although it obtained the acquisition of solitary unconnected characters, would, as furnishing a criterion of orthography, or literal delineation, furnish "Jewels richer than the whole tribe" of all other ancient books, and autographs.

It should not be omitted, that their value is incalculably enhanced by the local eminence of their discovery. The Romans took possession of Herculaneum, U. C. 460. A. C. 293. "Jam Servilius," Livy informs us, "Volanam, et Palumbinum, et Herculaneum, in Samnitibus ceperat.—Ad Herculaneum bis etiam signis collatis ancipiti prælio." As belonging to the Samnites, whose language is evidently of oriental extraction, it may not improbably in its name combine terms the same with those of the Hebrew* דור "mountain," and קלי "burn-

* It is a circumstance extremely curious, that, in one of the most learned and popular Journals, this etymology is reprehended, because the

ing." Should this etymological conjecture be deemed not altogether admissible, it must, however, be confessed, that it is at least recommended to some notice by the situation of the city itself. Besides, the impending Vesuvius is generally stated by antiquarians to derive its appellation from the oriental אש or אשא fire. Hence Vesuv among the Tuscans, who are fond of the u, and then Βέσβιος, and then Vesuvius. Vesta is supposed to be of the same origin. Strabo calls the mountain Ὀυεσσύιον. Dion. Hal. Ὀυέσβιον. Galen says, Οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι Βεσούβιον ὀνομάζουσιν τόδ' ἔνδοξον, καὶ νέον ὄνομά τοῦ λόφου

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mountain was not burning antecedently to the time when Herculaneum was destroyed. But the Journalist might have reflected, that, as no written record of a prior eruption existed, yet we are told by Strabo, that the soil and appearance of the mountain itself exhibited sufficient record of eruption, or eruptions. In excavating the two cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, volcanic strata were found under the houses and the streets, and the streets themselves are paved, and the houses are builded, with volcanic stones and lava.

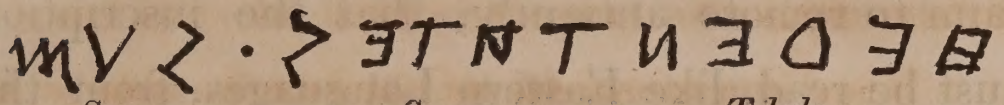
Βέσβιον. Varro calls it Vesubius, and Vesuius. Virgil and Suetonius, Vesevus. Columella, Statius, Martial, Silius Italicus, and Val. Flaccus, differently.

This enumeration of various names is introduced here for the sole purpose of inferring, with some apparent authority, that, as both the Greeks and Romans are so vague in expressing the denomination of Vesuvius, they had derived it from some Eastern language, from which the name, Herculaneum, is, therefore, with as much probability, derived. It may not be improper, perhaps, to subjoin, that the Greeks very commonly articulated a foreign aspirate by B, and the Romans by V.

According to all historians, the Samnites were a nation both warlike and powerful. Eo anno (U. C. 412, A. C. 340,) adversus Samnites, gentem opibus, armisque validam, nota arma. A piece of marble, preserved in the Royal

Museum of Portici, has an inscription in Samnitical characters.

m u s s e t a t n e r e h



Sum Sacra Tabula

This stone, thus inscribed, was found in Herculaneum, which, of course, was Samnitical. Besides, as it could resist a besieging army, even of the Romans, it must have been a place of some strength and consideration. If we suppose, that the Osci, Tyrrheni, or Tusci, and Pelasgi, and Samnites, were not the same, the antiquity of Herculaneum becomes more respectable. Ὄσκοι δὲ εἶχον καὶ ταύτην (Herculaneum) καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς Πομπαίαν—εἶτα τυρρήνοι, καὶ Πελασγοι. Μετὰ ταῦτα Σαμνῖται. Οὗτοι δ' ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν τόπων.

This passage of the Geographer, compared with that of Dionysius Hal. assigns a very remote period to the existence of this city.

Ὁ δὲ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Πελάσγικον κακοῦσθαι ἤρξατο, δευτέρα γενεὰ σχεδον πρὸ των τρωϊκων ἐγένετο. It must strike our attention, somewhat forcibly, in support of a claim to remote antiquity, that the inscription must be read, like Eastern Languages, from the right hand to the left.

The political state of Herculaneum, whether it were a settlement of Phœnicians, or of other Asiaticks, cannot be traced with any exactness, or conclusive deduction, from facts and circumstances, at any epocha earlier, than that of the Roman dominion. It can only be argued presumptively from Strabo, that it might have been of the twelve cities, which formed the dynasty of the Tuscans in Campania. The opposition, it made to the victorious legions of Rome, the municipal rights which it enjoyed after its subjugation, clearly indicate *some* prosperity, and *some* importance in the estimation of the conqueror.

Herculaneum is twice called Municipium, that is, in an inscription, which I saw in the Royal Museum at Portici; and again, in another inscription, which Julius Cæsar Capaccio produces.

That of the Royal Museum runs,

M. Memmio M. F. Rufo Patri
Municipes.

And is sanctioned, should more proof and authorities be demanded, by a brass plate, which at once evinces the municipal privileges of this city to the most scrupulous investigator.

T. Claudio. Drusi. F.
Cæsari. Augusti.
Germanico.
Pont:. Max: Trib: Pot: 8.
Imp: 16. Cos. 2.
Patri. Patriæ. Cens.
Ex Testimenti Messii L. F. M. A.
Senecæ.

Militis Coh: 10 Urbanæ, et
Dedicationi ejus legavit
Muicipibus
Singulis HS. IIII n.

From some inscribed pieces of stone it appears, that, as Cives Romani, the inhabitants of Herculaneum were enrolled in some tribe at Rome itself, particularly the Menenian.

L. Annio L. F. *Men.*
2 Vir. Itin: Quin . .
. . Vir Epularum.

It may not be improper to suggest, that all the inscriptions, which I have produced, or may produce, have been digged from Herculaneum, and, except that of Julius Cæsar Capaccio, have been perused and examined by me.

Exclusive of a short interval in the Marsick or social war, this city remained in tranquil subjection to Consular and Imperial Rome.

Divo Julio
Herculanenses.

Germanico Cæsari Tib. F. Divi Augusti n.
Divi Julii pronepoti. Auguri. Flamini Augustalio.
Cos. 2. Imp. II.

The Emperors, on their part, seem to have been grateful for the loyal attachment of this people. Thus,

Imp: Cæs. Vespasianus Aug. Pontifex Max.
Trib: Pot. 7. Imp. 17. P. P. Cos. 7. Desig: 8.
Templum Matris Deûm terræ motu collapsun
Restituit.

Again upon a publick weight.

Imp. Vesp. Aug: IIX.
T. Imp: Aug. F: VI C.
Exacta in Capitolio.

And upon another publick weight.

Tib: Clau. Cæs. Aug: Vitel.
III Cos. exacta ad artic:
Curâ Ædil.

And upon a brass Sextarius.

D. D. P. P. Herc.

That is, Decurionum Decreto Præfecti ponderibus Herculanensium.

These three inscriptions inform us of another municipal right enjoyed by the Herculanenses in their Ponderale, or House of Publick Weights.

There was an earthquake, Anno Christi 63, sixteen years previous to that eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Herculaneum, Anno Christi 79. Seneca declares, that in this earthquake Herculanensis oppidi pars ruit, dubièque stant etiam, quæ relicta sunt. Nonis Februarii fuit terræ motus.

In an enclosure behind the great theatre a heap of tiles, respectively numbered, together with the trunk of a marble statue, and the fragments of several columns, was excavated under the volcanick materials. Another earthquake,

indeed, immediately preceded, or rather attended, that eruption. Some houses were thrown to the ground by the severe concussion. Their ruins are partly spread upon the original soil, partly upon the pumice stones discharged from the mountain. Pliny, in his account addressed to Tacitus, says, " Præcesserat per multos dies treror terræ minus formidilosus, qui Campaniæ non solum castella, verum etiam oppida vexare solitus: illâ vero nocte ità invaluit, ut non moveri omnia, sed everti crederentur." In this letter, as well as in the 16th of the same book, to the same friend, Pliny has proved himself to have " Omnia verè prosecutum," although, with great modesty, he remark, " Aliud est Epistolam, aliud Historiam scribere."

Conformably to his faithful description, the excavated stratum is not lava, as has been often said, but " Pumices nigrique et ambusti, et fracti igne lapides," to the depth of nearly

seventy feet in many places. All the wood in Herculaneum was reduced to coals, and every thing combustible was not only injured by the extreme heat, but, as was the case with the manuscripts, was violently compressed, and contracted by the ponderous pressure of the volcanick materials. In one of his best poetical efforts Statius justly says,

——Pater exemtum terris ad sidera montem
Sustulit, et latè miseras dejecit in urbes.

Upon this stratum of stones, first liquified, and then hardened and incorporated into prodigious masses, there has been raised a second stratum, accumulated by the scoriæ of 1631. The celebrated Mazzochi objects to the edited date of the eruption in Pliny, and changes it from 9 Cal: Sep: into 9 Cal: Dec: in order to make it consistent with the remains of dried fruits, such as chesnuts, figs, and raisins, found in the excavation, and preserved in the Royal Museum

of Portici. These fruits, he says, in Campania, are not saved before October. It is most true, I have seen these fruits, and also some cones of firs, in that museum. But, considering the nature of the climate, and the unripe state, in which those fruits and cones may have been gathered, and the possible variations of season, I cannot conclude, with Mazzochi, that they will justify his emendation.

A fragment of L. Sisenna, in Nonius Marcellus, informs us, that, "Oppidum Herculaneum tumulo in excelso loco propter mare parvis mænibus inter duos fluvios infra Vesuvium positum." It is very remarkable, that no sign of these two rivers, except some water bubbling, and making its way through the Tophus, or Pappamonte, in its supposed ancient channel, is now remaining. A passage in the Book of Statutes, belonging to the Chapter of the Cathedral at Naples, was shewed to me; it had these words:—

" At vero pro vino Greco in istâ parte fluminis," which, relating to the claim of the Chapter upon the wine to a certain extent about Torre Ottava, render indubitable the existence of one river at least, until the year 1534.

By the two οἰκισται, or conditores, whom the munificent Titus appointed, he gave the surviving and distressed inhabitants of this city Χρήματα ἄλλα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνευ κληρονόμων τεθνηκότων. They were, too, if we may credit a Neapolitan inscription of Gruter, settled by these Conditores in Naples.

L. Munatio Concessia
No V. P. Patrono Colo
niæ pro meritis ejus
Erga cives munifica
Largitate olim hono-
rem debitum præstan
tessimo Viro præsens
Tempus exegit. Quo etiam

Munatii Concessiani Filii
Sui Demarchia cumulatiore
Sumptu Liberalitatis abun
dantia universis exhibuit Civibus,
Obquæ Testimonia amoris sinceris
simi Reg: primaria splendidissi
ma Herculanensium patrono mira
bili statuam ponendam decrevit.

Capaccio shews, there was a Compitum Herculeum at Naples. This circumstance, added to the weight of the inscription, removes, it should seem, every doubt about the spot, whither the expatriated inhabitants of Herculaneum were transferred.

Thus, with as much conciseness, as the subject could well admit, I have endeavoured to present to the view of your Royal Highness the origin, and the various fortunes of this city, and the final ruin, into which it was plunged by its formidable neighbour, Vesuvius.

Not less connected with the object of my employment, the manuscripts, or "papiri," is the mountain itself, to which they owe their present state, and appearance, than the place, in which they were so long, that is, for the space of 1673 years, buried, and, while buried, most wonderfully preserved under a stupendous mass of volcanick substance. Some faint tradition, intimated in the appellation of "Campi Phlegræi," and in the Battle of the Giants, supported among the ancients a belief, that an eruption, or eruptions, prior to that of 79, in the first year of Titus, had taken place. The "memoratur antiquitus exarsisse" of Vitruvius is strengthened by the more prolix account of the Sicilian Diodorus. Ὠνομάσθαι δὲ τοῦτο φλέγραιον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἄπλετον πῦρ ἐκφύσαντος παραπλησίως τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Αἴτνᾳ. Καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ τόπος Οὐέσβιος ἔχων πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κεκαῦσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους. Tacitus, in his usual manner, expresses it, "Novis cladi-

bus, vel post longam seculorum seriem repetitis. Symptoms of former eruption have displayed themselves in the different strata of wells digged to a considerable depth; besides these symptoms, which I mentioned in my note upon the Journalists, some have drawn the same inference from Lucretius, where he says,

Qualis apud Cumas locus est, montemque Vesevum,
Oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus haustus.

Strabo, by whom the plain about, and under the mountain is called Ἀγρὸς πάγκαλος, was of opinion, that the surface of the ground exhibited undeniable marks of former eruption, or, in his own words, Ὡς ἂν τεκμάιροι τὸ χώριον τοῦτο κάιεσθαι πρότερον.

After the eruption of 79 there have been more, than thirty other eruptions. One of them, described by Cassiodorus, and Procopius, seems to have been extraordinarily dreadful.

The figure of the mountain, which has

sometimes burst its sides, sometimes vented its fury at its top, must have experienced many considerable changes. For instance, Strabo has τῆς κορυφῆς only, Dio Αἱ πέριξ κορυφαὶ. Statius was a Neapolitan, and was eye-witness of the eruption in 79. Who, therefore, can well gainsay his veracity in any thing, which he communicates relative to it? But his veracity is of very material importance to the antiquities of these manuscripts. He assures us, that the complete destruction, and interment of whole cities, and the absorption, and annihilation of whole farms and estates, were the consequences of that eruption.

Mira fides! credetne virûm ventura propago,
Cum segetes iterùm, cum jam hæc deserta virebunt,
Infra urbes, populosque premi, proavitaque toto
Rura abiisse mari? ———

The "erat" of Martial, in speaking of Herculaneum, His

Cunita jacent flammis, et tristi mersa favillâ, the " Τὰς πόλεις δύο ὅλας τὸ τε Ἡρκουλάνιον τούς τε Πομπηιους κατέχωσεν, of Dio, the τὴν ἀγνόιαν, καὶ ἀσαφέιαν, ὅπου κατῳκῆνται," of Plutarch, the τεθνηκάσιν ὅλαί πόλεις και Ἡράκλαιον, of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, and the silence of succeeding geographers are sufficient to prove to your Royal Highness the total destruction, and disappearance of this city.

Upon the other hand, it is my duty towards the Prince of Wales, especially as both justice, and candour require it from me, not to suppress, what has been asserted by the opponents of this total destruction. In the annals of literature few persons have attained more celebrity, than Scipio Maffei, among the Italians, and, among the French, Barthelemi. Both these men have influenced the opinion of some to a great degree, with regard to the loss of this city; seconded by Ioannes Larnius, both of them have pronounced,

that the antiquities deposited in the Museum of Portici, by King Charles III. had not the least to do with Herculaneum; that the Augustana Tabula, commonly called Peutingeriana, from Peutinger, and written in the time of Theodosius the Younger, mentions Herculaneum; that (which is their only argument not perfectly vague) some coins inscribed Domitianus Cæsar in that collection of Portici, even if you acknowledge the identity of those ruins with Herculaneum, would announce the prolongation of its existence after the reign of Titus, and of the eruption, 79. Upon these two alledged proofs their heretical dogma rests.

At the same time it must be confessed, that my Brethren of the Royal Herculaneum Society reply with some force, by representing the Greek name of Herculaneum in the Peutingerian Tables, as nothing more than the name of a temple, dedicated to Hercules, or, as a translation of Porticus Herculis, afterwards corrupted into

Portici: that in the Greek capital at a distance from the spot, the compiler might easily mistake one for the other: that, with respect to the coins, the title of Cæsar was often, or rather usually, bestowed upon the sons of the Emperor, during the life-time, or reign, of the Sovereign.

For my own part, if it could be vouchsafed me to address, upon such a question, a reference to so elevated authority, I am sure your Royal Highness would not hesitate to determine, that a most conclusive argument against Maffei, &c. may be drawn from the manuscripts themselves, because all the names of the writers, hitherto discovered in those manuscripts, are those of writers, not only who lived, but are generally *known* to have lived, a considerable time before the said eruption, except in the case of one writer, whose title of the work is Καρνειςκου Φιλιςτα. This Carneiscus, of whom no mention is made in any extant author, may have lived before, or

after, that eruption; but certain expressions in his manuscript persuade me, that he too lived a considerable time before the said eruption.

Ἓν γὰρ σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
Νικᾷ.

This verse of Euripides was found, written with ochre upon the walls of a room, which, from other circumstances, is supposed to have been in a house belonging to a pedagogue. The accents, and the *minuscule* figure of the letters, although they were not employed in transcribing for publick use any books in the Greek language, might naturally be employed in a grammar or writing-school, where Roman, *i. e.* foreign, scholars were taught the different characters of that language, and could not have learned accentual intonation without the assistance, and guide of some visible marks. Upon this subject it would be unjustifiable in me to enlarge, because it would be unnecessary, and, also, an act of pre-

sumption. One of the best Greek scholars, whom this country has ever produced, the late most deeply, and most accurately, learned Dr. Foster, Upper Master of Eton, in his Treatise upon Accents, and Quantity, has established the true account of this subject, with historical, and erudite precision. If any additional statement were wanting, the valuable work of Mr. Mitford would clear every doubt, and satisfy the queries of the most sceptical investigation; and most certainly would serve to refute any objections, which the before-mentioned cavillers could raise, upon the accents of the cited Greek iambick inscription, against the date of the total destruction of Herculaneum. In defence of the same date, and consistently with the well-founded proposition of Casley, in his most able performance, "the Catalogue, &c.," the observation of Dr. Taylor, upon this very inscription, seems to be unanswerable. After referring to an inscription, in Greek,

as well as Latin, at Rome, and of the age of Tiberius, he observes, that, " In the Greek, according to Manutius, though neglected by Gruter, the little λ, the φ, the δ, the ω, are all remarkable. The small characters were, therefore, we see, known at that time, but reserved for private use, like the visible accentual marks, and rarely mixed with their publick monuments." With regard to the Latin part of this inscription, where accents are found upon the long vowels, for instance,

Tu qui secúrá procédis mente parumper,

in a fragment of a Latin poem, which is among the *fac simile* copies of the Herculaneum manuscripts, now at Oxford, and attributed, conjecturally by me, to Varius, the author exhibits in the same manner the same accent upon a long vowel, as constituting a syllable, or part of a metrical foot.

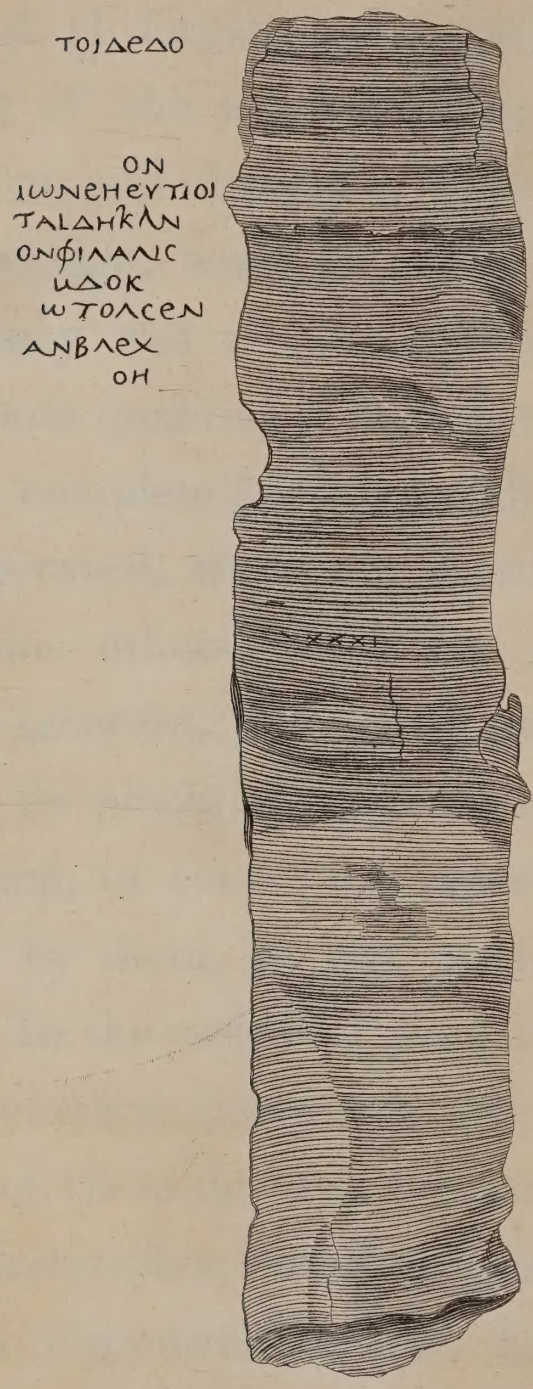
It may not be improper to close this sum-

mary account of Herculaneum with a curious passage of the Sybilline Oracle in Plutarch, respecting the eruption so fatal to that city. "To these remarkable and recent evils, (he writes) the ancient theme of Sybilline song, and prophecy, has not time done justice, and correspondently brought to pass? I mean the eruption of fire from the mountain, the boiling effervescence of sea-water, and the violent dispersion of massy stones, and combustion itself, with the assistance of the wind, and the *total* ruin of so many and so great cities, in such a manner, that the whole country was defaced, and the very site became undistinguishable."

How the ruins of Herculaneum were discovered, I have already represented to your Royal Highness in my first Letter. Charles III. with his natural liberality, and public spirit, gave his immediate orders for excavation. But, unfortunately, to the discredit of the Sovereign

himself, and to the injury of his great designs, a Spaniard (I forget his name) was appointed director of the whole. This Spaniard united arrogance, and obstinacy, with the darkest want of knowledge, and, therefore, his whole superintendency was a course of practical lectures upon those qualities. Hence it is for the literary world a complete ἔρμαιον, that all the manuscripts, now preserved, were not sacrificed in common with some others, which the Director, and the equally ignorant, but clearly guiltless, labourers, mistook for pieces of charcoal, or burned timber, and which, in consequence, were removed, and applied by them, to the usual domestick purposes. In the course of their removal, however, some detached fragments happily fell from one, or two of these devoted volumes, and displayed upon their surface very distinguishable characters. Of this circumstance the labourers honestly informed the Spaniard, who, as the characters

A Fac Simile of an Herculaneum Manuscript.



Disegno del papiro num. 1650 della veduta dove si sono scoverti i primi caratteri che sono scritti sul dorso.

N.B. upon the outside of another MS. N°339) finished March 16th 1805 the characters

ΛΟΔΙΙΜΟ
ΡΙΤΟ

Malesu fece

London Published April 22d 1811. by Richard Phillips N° 7 New Bridge Str.

were Greek, could not read them: he was obliged, therefore, to consult that eminent scholar, the Canon Mazzochi, about them. To the great joy of Mazzochi, who immediately repaired to the "Scavi," the labourers were still procuring more manuscripts from two different, but small, rooms in the same house.* The wood of the shelves, upon which they had been placed in small boxes, was, together with the wood of the boxes themselves, strongly charred, or reduced to ashes. The manuscripts themselves, so providentially saved by the intervention of Mazzochi, and gradually and carefully excavated by the workmen, were not less than eighteen

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* This house is supposed, upon some foundation, to have been the residence of the great Piso family. Cicero, speaking of that residence, observes, that he could see it from his villa, near Puteoli. This circumstance has been practically confirmed upon the spot where that villa stood, in directing the view towards that part of the volcanick mass, which is perpendicularly over the site of that residence.

hundred, some in a less, some in a more perfect state. It is curious, that these manuscripts, which are always called by the Italians "Papiri," because the substance of each volume, or roll, was formed from the plant Papyrus,* owe their preservation to the heat of those materials, which had buried them; without this, their *vegetable* texture must have been destroyed by putrefaction. But, although the greatest part of their bulk had thus resisted the effects of time, yet that bulk itself had been much injured. In many instances it was much impaired, sometimes obliterated, or disfigured, or perforated,

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* Hence the modern word Paper. The ingenious Chevalier Landolini, of Syracuse, who favoured me with a visit at Portici, renewed, with successful experiment, the mode of forming this substance. It both receives and retains, extremely well, and most distinctly, each character of the pen and ink; our best paper is not more serviceable; I have often tried it. Landolini, in a manuscript essay, has ably corrected, and explained the corrupt text of Pliny upon this subject.

or mutilated, or broken, wholly, or in part, by that very heat, or by compression under the heavy volcanick materials, or by the forcible introduction of very light dust, and some small stones, into its substance, especially in the more exterior folds of each volume, which, in every instance, have suffered some, or all of those various injuries. The interior folds, where the Greek and Latin characters (as the manuscripts are written in both those languages) are not totally annihilated by volcanick injuries, exhibit an high degree of preservation, and even a superficial lustre, both in their substance, and in the remaining characters. The ancient ink had, luckily, a considerable quantity of gum, but no acid; of this we had been informed by Pliny the Elder, who is invaluable, as in so many other respects, so for his extreme accuracy in every point, upon which his indefatigable researches could not be misled by others, or insuperably

obstructed, or baffled. By royal command, at the suggestion of Mazzochi, the manuscripts were lodged in the Museum at Portici, and numbered; but, owing to the folly of the Spaniard, were not classed in two divisions, so as to denote the quantity found in each of the two respective rooms.

To advance the developement, and interpretation of these volumes, Charles III. instituted a society; it consisted of members, the most celebrated in that country for their literary attainments,—the Marquis Tannucci, Mazzochi, the Prelate Baiardi,* and some few others.

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* To this extraordinary man all the antiquities of the Museum, except these manuscripts, were committed, whether from Herculaneum, Pompeii, or Stabiæ. In his History of Herculaneum he begins *ab ovo*: as he proceeds, he does much: and would have done still more, had not the termination of his life interfered with the completion of his design. In several printed volumes hitherto, he had only given, with genealogical minuteness, the whole account of Hercules, and his children, man, woman, and child; but, had he lived, he would have given the same account of all the subsequent generations of all the Heraclidæ.

When Piaggi, the inventor of the process, which I have more circumstantially described in my former Letter, had, together with his scholar, Vincenzo Merli, unrolled a page, or any tolerable series of characters, in any fragment, they submitted, in either case, whatever they had gained, to Mazzochi, who applied himself most successfully to the elucidation of it. The first manuscript they opened had the title of the work, and the name of the author, at the end,* that is, upon the most interior part of the roll. The work, as the title imported, was upon musick, the name of the author Philodemus.

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* This title, and name, have been situated in the same part of all the manuscripts, hitherto opened, except in two instances:—one instance is that of the fac simile manuscript, or volume, which faces page 31 of this Letter:—the other is that of which I have made a memorandum at the bottom of the same fac simile. The import of the superscription in the fac simile is clear, as to the arithmetical cyphers, such as XXX (viz.) 3000, which, as they are stated to that effect in other manuscripts, most probably denote the number of lines only; and, therefore, the other

Perhaps it may not be thought totally uninteresting, should I lay before your Royal Highness a view of some specimens of titles, and names, and other final inscriptions from those "Papiri," which were opened under my direction.

At the end of the manuscript, No. 1042, which Camillo Paderni began to unroll 23d January, 1802, and finished 22d March in the same year, there are,

εΠιΚουΡου

ΠεΡι ΦυΣεωΣ

ια

In Number 1423.

ΦιΛοΔΗΜου

ΠεΡι ΡΗΤοΡιΚΠΣ

Δ

ΤωΝ εiΣ Δυο Το ΠΡοΤεΡοΝ

---

part of the superscription may, not improbably, denote the subject. In the other manuscript, the characters ΛοΔΗΜο

. . Ρι . . Το . . . .

are the remains of Φιλοδημου Περι Ρητορικης, *i. e.* both the name of the writer, and title of his subjeet.

In Number 208.

ΚωΛωΤου

ΠΡοC ΤοN ΠΛ α 1 . ι .*

ΝοC Λ . Cι . ι

In Number 336.†

ΠοΛυCΤΡαΤου ΠεΡι

αΛοΓου ΚαΤαΦΡοΝΗ

CεωC ΟιΔ εΠιΓΡαΦου

CιN ΠΡοC ΤουC αΛοΓωC

ΚαΤα ΘΡαCυΝοΜεΝουC

ΤωN εN ΤοιC ΠοΛΛοιC

ΔοΞαΖοΜεΝωN

In Number 1027.

ΚαΡΝειCΚου

ΦιΛιCΤα

Β

ΑΡιΘ XXX ΗΗ ΔΔΔ Η CεΛ

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* These dots are inserted by me to shew, that there is a chasm.

† This Number was only half of a manuscript, which had been broken into two pieces. Another Number, forming the other half, was fortunately unfolded and copied afterwards. The *fac simile* copy of this manuscript, which is one of the most perfect, is at Oxford.

In Number 1006.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡιου

ΠεΡι ΤιΝωΝ

CυΖΗΤΗΘεΝΤωΝ

ΔιαιΤαΝ

In Number 1479.

Ει . ι . . . υΡ . .

Π . Ρι . υCεωC

ΚΗ

. . . . . ΤωΝ αΡΧαιωΝ

In Number 1414.

ΦιΛοΔΗΜου

ΠεΡι . . . . . ΛειΤου

. . . . . .

ΚοΛΛΗΜαΤα

CεΛ . ιοΗ

The above-mentioned Treatise upon Musick was by that Philodemus, whom his cotemporary, Cicero, calls " Optimum Virum," and " Doctissimum Hominem." He was an Epicurean, and

was the author of that Greek Epigram, to which Horace alludes in

" Gallis hanc, Philodemus ait."

Upon the characters and title of this controversial Treatise, which is written against musick, and against its advocate, (one Diogenes, a learned Stoick) Winckelman has made remarks, much less interesting than might have been expected from his great talents, his experience, his knowledge, and his taste; nor could his remarks, if otherwise equal to his high reputation, have been very copious, and extensive. Every foreigner, before the mission, with which I was honoured by your Royal Highness, had, from the jealous vigilance, and restriction of the Neapolitan Government, much difficulty in obtaining access to any means of information, and very little exercise even of his sight, upon the Herculaneum manuscripts. However, in this, as in every other case, every thing, which is written by Winckelman,

must undoubtedly possess some claim to our attention. Mazzochi prepared this Treatise of Philodemus for publication, with much learning, yet with too redundant a display of quotation, of comment, and of criticism. Some supplements, which he has inserted, are inadmissible, because they are not commensurate with the vacant space; but this publication was prevented by the state of total idiotism, which came upon him in a very advanced period of his life. At last, the death of this very respectable scholar, added to the previous relinquishment of the crown of the two Sicilies for that of Spain, by Charles III. served most effectually to deaden the efforts of, and by degrees to annihilate, the Herculaneum Society.

The Marquis Caraccioli revived this Society in 1787, and appointed Charles Rosini, the present Bishop of Puzzuolo, to direct all the business of the "Papiri," which, during the idiotism

of Mazzochi, and still more after his death, were much neglected by Piaggi. Rosini had been under the patronage, and in the favour of Mazzochi, from whom he obtained the possession of the Treatise upon Musick, most fully prepared for editing. This was superbly edited, in 1790, by Rosini himself, who, without the contribution of one solitary word, except his own name, assumed to himself the whole merit of his benefactor. It may not be improper to mention, that General Acton, as Prime Minister, advised me not to have any intercourse with Rosini, because, in the first revolution of Naples, he had remained upon his Bishoprick of Puzzuolo, and had delivered a pastoral discourse in favour of the Jacobin Usurpation. In subjoining, that he has again served Joseph Buonaparte, and is still serving Murat, in the employment which I held there under your Royal Highness, I have no view whatever, but that of explaining, most

satisfactorily, why, during all the time I was employed at Naples, this Bishop, instead of assisting me, did every thing in his power to thwart, and counteract all my proceedings. In fact, with such political notions, added to the prejudices of a bigoted Papist against a foreign Heretick, he could not well have supported towards me any other line of conduct, than what I invariably experienced. For the same reasons, Colonel La Vega, the Keeper of the Royal Museum, rivalling in every respect his predecessor, the Spaniard, never failed to observe the same deportment. The first, for the purpose of frustrating my intentions, although sanctioned by his Majesty's Minister, the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond, to publish the fragments of several books of Epicurus de Rerum Naturâ, which I had discovered, especially as they seemed to excite much interest in the world, kept in his own hands the *fac*

simile copies, nearly all the time I remained at Naples, under various pretexts; and at last, jointly with the brother of the Colonel, who was dead, and with the unexpected connivance of the Court, deprived your Royal Highness of the valuable engraved *fac simile* copies of three books and an half of that Philosopher. These engravings, consequently, are now in possession of the existing Government at Naples. One circumstance, in particular, ought not to be concealed from your Royal Highness;—it is this:—I have already said, that Mazzochi had prepared for publication, as it is now printed, the Treatise of Philodemus upon Musick, which the Bishop edited in his own name; I say more, the Bishop was not capable of publishing it in its present form. In a copy of a Treatise,* Περὶ φαινομένων

* That copy is now at Oxford; but it had been revised, and again corrected by me.

σημειωσέων, which he undertook to correct, he left, or made, even thirty-two errors in a single column. Could such a corrector of a copy be the learned publisher of a book? What I have here said, I persuade myself, will not be deemed either to be "extenuated, or set down in malice," or foreign to, or unconnected with, the nature and the interests of my Herculaneum mission; more particularly, if it should be considered, that these men were, nominally at least, associated with me in the prosecution of the objects of that mission. Besides these persons, the Neapolitan Court gave another companion, who really and sincerely assisted me. Your Royal Highness, I trust, will permit me to seize this occasion of expressing for this old man, who was a Basilian Abbot, and whose name was Foti, my sentiments of esteem and friendship. He was the best Greek scholar, with whom I ever met in Naples, or in Sicily. With the most unpreju-

diced candour he co-operated with me, as far as could be expected from heart-felt zeal, and much unaffected knowledge. Continually he paid the tribute of his warm encomiums to the disinterested, munificent, and princely motives which influenced the Royal Patron of the undertaking. In a word, with truth I speak of him, as

" Animam, qualem neque candidiorem
Terra tulit, nec cui me sit devinctior alter."

Before the commencement of my labours in 1802, there had been opened, during more than forty years, only eighteen manuscripts. Of what materials their substance was formed, I have already mentioned. The process, or mode of opening them, has been described in my first Letter. The points, at which the " papyraceous" sheets were fastened together by a cement or gum, are often visible. I should conceive, that the longest roll, composed of these cemented sheets, could not have exceeded, in any instance,

forty feet, and no sheet could have been longer than three feet, or thereabouts; the breadth of the sheet, as it must naturally suggest itself, must constitute the length of each roll, which, taking all the manuscripts one with another, is a varying measure from somewhat less than a palm to something, but very little, more than a foot. In writing, the ancients placed the length of the roll horizontally, and the breadth was perpendicularly divided into columns, as they are called, or pages, with a varying interval between each, sometimes of more, sometimes of less, than an inch. When the whole mass was folded into a volume, or roll, (of which there is a *fac simile* at page 31) they began to fold it at the end. Hence, as I have observed before, the name of the writer and title of the work have hitherto, except in two instances, been found in the innermost part of the manuscript. Very inconsiderable pieces of the stick with "umbilici," or

rollers, round which the folds were made, and of its heads, have been found in very rare instances; but in each instance they are either pulverized, or reduced to a black, and friable coal. The colour of the volumes is extremely different, one from the other, in shades of a tawny, a deep or dark brown, and black, to that of the darkest charcoal. Of the latter are those of Philodemus, already unrolled; and all the Greek manuscripts, indeed, are of a blacker shade than the Latin, which are of the first. The inference from this respective state of colour in the different manuscripts, must naturally be, that they were found in two different rooms; one of these rooms must have been less affected than the other, by the heat of the volcanick matter. But the less any manuscript has been affected by that heat, the more difficulty has been always encountered in opening it, for the reason which I have assigned in my first Letter. It is remarkable, that all the

Latin manuscripts, which I have attempted to unroll, have been of a tawny, or brown colour; and, therefore, one of them (which is the fragment of a Latin poem before-mentioned) was opened with great difficulty. Another produced only unconnected scraps of broken pages, or columns, in a state the more to be lamented, as, from some common words, as well as Roman proper names, it might be concluded to be something historical. Of others, it was found totally impracticable to separate the substance, even in the smallest portions. All these, consequently, must have been lodged in one of the two rooms, different from that in which those of Philodemus and the Greek writers were kept.

The only mode of selecting a manuscript from the Royal Museum for developement, was very simple, but not always effectual; yet, at the same time, whenever the small brush, which they wetted and applied, in this case, to the

outside surface of a manuscript, caused the exterior fold to raise itself singly in a detached state from the next under it, that manuscript, most completely justified the experiment, however simple, by a more entire separation of each fold in the volume, especially from the middle part, even to the end, and by a more entire preservation of letters, both in form and in colour.

So many persons of erudition, and good sense, Russians, Germans, Swedes, Greeks, Spaniards, French, Italians, and even English, said so much of chymical experiments, as likely to contribute to the greater and more productive facility of unfolding the most conglutinated masses of these manuscripts, that I yielded, contrary to my own sentiments, to their representations. These sentiments were founded upon hourly observation of the variously affected substance of several manuscripts. That observation

was directed to the nature of their substance, and to the nature of those materials, which had brought them to their present state; but as it was my duty not even to appear to neglect any means by which, it was so generally supposed, the undertaking might be forwarded, I thought,

——————— non tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum.

Mr. Poli, one of those who were employed in the tuition of the Hereditary Prince, a man well known in the philosophical world, and President of the Military Academy, recommended to me one Gaetano la Pira, as an excellent chymist, both in theory, and in experiment. This gentleman wrote his Proposal, together with his data. Broken pieces of several of the more impaired manuscripts, classed according to their respective defects, were set apart by my order for his inspection. After considering, during some time, and in detail, their defects, after

having been permitted by me to make other various unsuccessful attempts, at last, without convincing me by any single argument, which he adduced, he was permitted to try vegetable gas. The greatest part of each mass flew, under this trial, into useless atoms; besides, not a character was to be discovered upon any single piece. The dreadful odour drove us all from the Museum. This, in fact, is a part of the royal palace, which, if the court had been there, must, also, have been precipitately abandoned.

After these experiments, I had the satisfaction of continuing, with a safer conscience, the process, which I have described in my first Letter.—This, in a second corrected edition, is subjoined to the present Letter.—Piaggi, the Inventor, was no more. Vincenzo Merli was justly discarded for certain revolutionary practises. There were, luckily for me, three other men, Malesci, Casanova, and Lentari, who had been

employed with Piaggi, and Vincenso Merli, in unfolding the "Papiri." These men were engaged by me, not only themselves to unfold, but also to teach and to direct ten others, whom I, at different intervals, additionally took into this service. Two of these men, Giuseppe Casanova, and Carlo Orazj, both of them skilled in the art of *design*, were exclusively confined to the occupation of copying, in *fac simile*, the characters of each fragment, or column, which I consigned to them for that purpose.

Each of these men received from me a sum of monthly salary, quite inadequate to their respective support. The compensation for this deficiency depended upon their own exertions, because, both the unfolder and copyist of any fragment, or column, received from me a premium of one carlini for each line, after it had been copied in *fac simile*, with approved exactness. It will, I hope, appear to your Royal

Highness, that such an arrangement of pay was not ill calculated to secure the utmost diligence, and most attentive carefulness, both in the unfolder, and in the transcriber. The unfolder was obliged, for his own interest, to keep perpetually in view the necessity of unfolding for the *fac simile* transcriber as many, and as perfect lines, as he could, in order that he might receive a greater share of reward. For the same reason, the transcriber became an useful spy for me upon the unfolder, of whose ignorance, or inattention, or prejudicial violence in unfolding, he would, for his own sake, inform me; at the same time that *his zeal*, and *his accuracy* in transcribing, were objects of jealous scrutiny to the unfolder, and were stimulated thereto by the future acquisition of correspondent recompence. In a word, he who unfolded, and he who copied, while each, for his own sake, took all possible pains, most advantageously checked, and animated each other.

This mode of payment, which I adopted, I would humbly beg permission to exhibit in the following specimens. These are extracted from the uninterrupted Journal, which I used to keep, of every proceeding, whether my own, or that of others under my direction, as well as of every occurrence relative to the manuscripts in the Royal Museum at Portici.

" EXPENCES.

" *Saturday, April 30th*, 1803.

" Io qui sotto dichiaro di aver ricevuto questo trentesimo dì di Avrile, 1803, la somma di cinque ducati quarent' otto grana per le spese di pelle di battiloro, di carta per disegnare, di gomma, di Lapis, e di galesse, dico

" Gio. Bâtta Malesci."

" MONTHLY PAY.

" *Saturday, April 30th*, 1803.

" Noi qui sotto dichiriamo di aver ricevuto questo trentesimo dì di Avrile, 1803, i nostri

soldi rispettivi per tutto questo mese spirante, diciamo.

" Gio. Bâtta Malesci.*

" Gennaro Casanova.

" Antonio Lentari,
Camillo Paderni,
Giuseppe Casanova,
Carlo Orazj,
Gio. Bâtta Casanova,
Giuseppe Paderni,
Francesco Casanova,
Gennaro Braibanti,
Francesco Paderni,
Luigi Corazza,
Luigi Catalano,†
Alessandro Paderni,
Vincenzo Catalano,
Saverio Galassi,
Giachino Marinaro."

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* This man, the oldest, the most experienced, and most expert, in unfolding and copying, had twenty-two ducats monthly salary; the next, Gennaro Casanova, eighteen ditto. The others in proportion, some ten ducats, others, at first, six only. Alessandro Paderni, the Under-keeper of the Museum, was necessarily in constant attendance, upon account of this very work. As *he* could have no premium, he received the monthly sum of fifteen ducats. The three Porters, much smaller sums, in respective gradation.

† These thirteen persons were Unfolders, or Transcribers, and the remaining names are those of the Under-keeper of the Museum, and of three Porters.

" PREMIUMS.

" *Friday, May 27th,* 1803.

" Noi sotto dichiriamo d'aver ricevuto dall' Illmo Sigr. D. Giovanni Hayter, per lo svolgimento, assistenza, e trascrizione de' Papiri le somme qui appresso notate, il di 27 Maggio, 1803.

" Io Geo. Bâtta Malesci per assistenza allo svolgimento de' Papiri, No. 207, 218, 1385, ducati 22, grana 40.

" Io Gennaro Casanova per l' assistenza allo svolgimento de' Papiri 994, 1056, 1428, ducati 17. 30.

" Io Antonio Lentari ho ricevuto per lo svolgimento del Papiro 1056, ducati ondici 11. 00.

" Io Guiseppe Casanova per la trascrizione de' Papiri 994, 1056, e 1428, e per cinque Alfabeti,* ducati 35. 90.

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* Forty well-executed *fac simile* alphabets of different Greek manuscripts, and one of the fragment of a Latin poem, were finished, when

" Io Carlo Orazj per trascrizioni dè Papiri 207, 218, 1385, e per tre alfabeti, ducati venti tre 23. 00.

" Io Camillo Paderni per lo svolgimento del Papiro, No. 994, ho ricevuto, ducati trenta, 30. 00.

" Io Gio. Bâtta Casanova per lo svolgimento del Papiro, 218, ducati 7. 30.

" Io Francesco Casanova ho ricevuto per lo svolgimento de Papiri, 207, 1385, ducati 9. 10.

" Io Giuseppe Paderni per lo svolgimento del Papiro, 1428, ho ricevuto, ducati 1. 30."

In this extract, relative to premiums, there are not the names of some unfolders, which

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the approach of the French made it necessary for me to leave Naples, in February, 1806. Of these the copper-plate engravings are at Oxford. It gave me infinite satisfaction to hear Lord Grenville observe, that these alphabets are extremely valuable.

appear in the extract of monthly pay. All, consequently, had not merited them. From the most rigorous distribution of them I never, in one instance, deviated.

The following are extracts relative to the "Papiri" themselves.

"*Tuesday, 22d October*, 1805.

"The "Papiro," No. 300, which had been consigned to Don Gennaro Braibanti, was finished without title or name.

"The same day, the "Papiro," No. 985, which had been consigned to Don Antonio Lentari, was relinquished, as impracticable.

"The same day, two other "Papiri" were chosen. No. 1001 was consigned to Don Antonio Lentari; No. 816 to Don Gennaro Braibanti.

"The same day, the "Papiro," No. 1057, which had been consigned to Don Francesco Paderni, was finished without name or title.

"The same day, another "Papiro," No.

988, was chosen, and consigned to the said Don Francesco Paderni."

"*Monday, November 29th*, 1805.

"The "Papiro,"* No. 817, which had been consigned to Don Camillo Paderni, was finished. There was no name, or title, at the end. It was the fragment of a Latin poem. Many entire verses in series were found. The poem appears to be historical. It speaks of Alexandria, Ægypt, Cæsar, the Battle of Actium, a Siege, the Queen, &c.

"The same day, another "Papiro," No.

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* The copper-plate *fac simile* copy of this "Papiro" is now at Oxford. What an immense price, indeed, the Pere Montfaucon, whose grand aim in his itinerant researches, was to find in some book a specimen of ancient Latin orthography, would have set upon this fragment! In fact, the Chevalier Seratti, then Secretary of State for "Case Reali," when I communicated to him the discovery of this Latin fragment, exclaimed, with much rapture, that this discovery was worth all my pains, and all the expence of our Government.

831, was chosen, and consigned to the same Don Camillo Paderni."

With the pecuniary disbursements in this undertaking, as my employment was literary, I was totally unconnected. Yet, as his Majesty's Minister, who was then the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond, thought the payment of the persons employed would be, on account of my local advantage, more convenient to me than to himself, or any one attached to his mission, he directed me to undertake that payment. With his directions I more readily complied, because I was justly prompted to do it by the most grateful esteem, and respect for him, as a most sincere friend, as a gentleman of distinguished birth, manners, talents, erudition, and taste, as an amiable and most excellent man, who, with the sense, and the expression of most

loyal duty to the Royal Patron of my employment, promoted it invariably, and effectually, with all the influence of his official situation, and all the warmth of personal concern, and zeal. These motives, I trust, will justify me to your Royal Highness for having added to my superintendency of the Herculaneum manuscripts, that of the payment of money, issued by Government to his Majesty's Minister, as far as it was assigned to the persons placed by him under my direction. Hence it was, that, in order not to appear disobliging, or disrespectful, to his Majesty's Chargè d'Affaires, William A'Court, Esq. before the arrival of Hugh Elliot, Esq. the successor of Sir William Drummond, nor afterwards to Mr. Elliot himself, I continued to superintend those payments at the Royal Museum at Portici. Thus, what I little foresaw, I became a sub-accountant to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, who have

lately, through George Harrison, Esq. examined all my accounts of Government money, as employed about these manuscripts. These accounts were, in a manner very honourable to me, approved by that gentleman, and afterwards allowed, and sanctioned, by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

When, in the unrolling any manuscript, a piece reached the top of the machine, from which it was suspended,* such part was then cut off from the manuscript, and placed, and fastened by pins, upon a frame of adequate size. If the contents of this piece, which most generally consisted of four columns, appeared to have a series of characters worth the pains, and the expence of copying, I consigned it to one of the two copyists, as soon as he was disengaged from transcribing any other manuscript, or any piece of the same manuscript.

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* I must again refer to the first Letter.

At the time I consigned any piece, and, again, after it was copied, I examined the surface of the respective columns with the utmost care. The copyist, and the unfolder, examined it with me, and after me. The fact was, that frequently, but particularly in the outward folds of each manuscript more than in the innermost, but sometimes in both, some particles, or even considerable parts, of the preceding column, or columns, adhered to the subsequent. This circumstance was occasioned by the various injuries, which, as before stated, the manuscript might have received, or by the nature of its substance, so liable to conglutination in its several folds. Nor was this examination always successful; each fold, or part, of a manuscript, was at times so unsubstantially subtle, that the eye, with the assistance of the best glasses, which were always employed in this case, could not discern, with the closest attention, whether the surface of the

fold, or piece, were identically single, or whether it had combined in itself, and received from any other preceding, and sometimes subsequent, pieces, some letters, or even words, or lines:

Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.

If I might be permitted, I would here exemplify to your Royal Highness this most troublesome part of my employment.

The first piece of the eleventh book of Epicurus, which, to repeated view, and minute observation, exhibited the appearance of a tolerably entire, and *individual* column, was copied, as such. As in every other instance, where any part of a manuscript had been copied, so in this, I first collated the copy with the dark original, letter for letter. Then I began, with all possible attention, mixed, however, with extreme distrust, both of myself, and of the thing itself, to attempt the interpretation. In the different columns of every manuscript, the

most perfectly unrolled, there have been always found wanting many letters, often a word, or, more rarely, a whole sentence, or whole sentences, respectively.* For the just interpretation, it was impossible, it would at least have been unjustifiable, to have proceeded otherwise, than I invariably used to do in the case of each "Lacuna." Its dimensions I exactly ascertained by an accurate, often retraced, mensuration. This rigid mensuration was then applied by me in the same manner, and agreeably to the form, under which that same manuscript presented every given character, to as many characters as,

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* A gentleman of distinction, to whom I was shewing the fragment of an exterior fold of the Latin Poem, before-mentioned, saw one single word, which was "*nihil.*" This circumstance, which was naturally mentioned by him in society, gained a wide circulation; and thus, as I informed the learned Editor of the Classical Journal, reached the ingenious writer of an article in a late Number of that Journal. "*Nihil*" seems applied by him to my whole undertaking.

conjecturally, and consistently with the supposed sense of the context, I wished to replace in that "Lacuna." When I was entirely satisfied, that these mensurations were accurate, and that the conjectural letters, thus supplied, expressed the very sense of the author, or, at least, some not inapplicable sense, the copyist was ordered by me to make a partial *fac simile* of that "Lacuna," and of the letter, which immediately came before it, and, also, of the letter, which immediately came after it, and, then, make in the "Lacuna" itself a *fac simile* transcript of each character, which had been supplied, in strict conformity to the usual distances between the respective letters in the same manuscript. When this whole process, admitted, "modulo, ac pede," and in aptest correspondence, my substituted, or supplied, characters, I wrote them, in my own interpreted copy of that manuscript with red ink, in order to distinguish them from the actually existing

characters of the original. After having gone through this process in the quoted instance of the first piece of the above-mentioned eleventh book of Epicurus, after having repeated several times this process, in consequence of the alteration which, the surface, by the detachment and loss of several of its particles, repeatedly exhibited, I found, that after this repeated process, and the laboured, tormenting, and most unsatisfactory supplemental conjectures of a month, both in the Museum and at home, as well for the vacant letters, as for the sense, my whole interpretation was necessarily wrong. This piece, which was supposed to form one column, was at last discovered to consist of two halves, one of which really belonged to the situation, which it occupied, the other, to a preceding column. Of the violent transposition of characters by the same transposition of particles, in the same

column, an example is afforded in the following extract from my Journal:

"*Wednesday, 6th February,* 1805.

"The "Papiro," No. 26, which had been consigned to Don Antonio Lentari, was finished, and at the end were the characters,

" · ΛdᐊHo . MoC

ΊεP TεC ιε . . . ωN "

In collating a transcript with the original in the Royal Museum, which contains a numerous range of apartments, I was frequently obliged, for the purpose of securing the distinct perception of the real character, to pass from one apartment to another of a different aspect. Nothing but a varied light, in many instances, and in spite of good glasses, and good eyes, could secure that perception.

What I have remarked* relative to books

* Page 26 of this Letter.

transcribed for publick use, is confirmed by these manuscripts. The vowels, except the H, and sometimes the U, are never capitals; the consonants always. In the Latin manuscript there is a full stop between each word; in the Greek manuscripts no stop of any description between words and sentences. Sections, or paragraphs, are distinguished, in some instances, by a mark, or by the intervention of a vacant space, or by both, and, also, in others, numerically. Each line is promiscuously closed; its end is never denoted by the end of a syllable. Even an end of a column itself is not syllabically distinguished from the beginning of another. Both in lines and in columns, these manuscripts shew, that the ancients would never *spell* in their orthographical arrangements.

Accents have not been discovered, hitherto, in any manuscript, except upon the long

syllables of the Latin poem ;* all these accents are acute. What a just trophy to the memory of that excellent scholar, the late Dr. Foster, of Eton, under whom I received my education, and, in the course of it, much undeserved favour, have I been the means of raising, with heartfelt satisfaction, and most thankful triumph, while I developed these manuscripts. He had, in his Essay, convinced, I believe, literary men in general, that, at least, his opponents were in the wrong, with regard to the date, and use of the Greek accentual marks. These manuscripts, which are of the remotest authenticity in the world, have, undeniably, proved, that he was in the right.

It may not be improper to mention here, one or two orthographical singularities in these manuscripts. In the first place, a long iota, as we write it single (*e. g.*) in τριβω, &c. is in them

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* As I have said, p. 28.

written as the diphthong ει. The same verb still retains this diphthong in those tenses where the iota would be long by position; *e. g.* Επιτρειψειεν. The iota subscript in them, as in ancient inscriptions, is not as it means, and as it is now written and printed, *under* the vowel, but always *after* it. Where a verse occurs, and in the case where a long vowel before a short one forms a *short second* syllable, as now printed and written, that it may constitute a dactyl foot, that dactyl here becomes a spondee. The third syllable, or short vowel, is totally omitted, *i. e.* immersed in the preceding long vowel. For instance, the Treatise upon Death* was, by Lord Grenville himself, perused

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* Of this elegant, interesting Greek Treatise, and of the fragment of the Latin Poem, the engraved *fac simile* copies are now at Oxford. The copper-plates, which were left at Palermo by one of the King's Messengers, to the care of Mr. Abraham Gibbs, are now, it is said, on board of his Majesty's Ship, Warrior. This ship, it is said, is on its passage home, if, indeed, it be not yet arrived.

lately, with all the critical judgment, philology, and attention, of a real scholar, both in the original, and in my interpreted supplied copy, where I had inserted in red ink an ε, in the following passage. His Lordship, at the time, justly remarked to me, that, in the original passage, no vacant space, or any other indication, proved the want, or the loss of an ε: that the quotation, as it thus stood in the original, namely,

ΤΡοιΗΝ ευΡειΗ

legitimately shewed, what the ancient pure orthography was: that the modern intrusion of ε, and, in *similar instances*, the extension of the spondee into a dactyl, to avoid this orthographical crasis, was, therefore, contrary to classical rule, in all the editions of Homer, and of any other Greek poet, edited by the moderns.

The sigma, in all the manuscripts, has the figure, its most ancient figure, which it always

had, except in the Dorick Colonies, of our C. It deserves our notice, that in the Latin fragment, that syntax, to which we pay the most religious attention, is not exemplified. If a boy at Eton, or at any other school, had written,

Simul terrestribus armis,

as it is found in that fragment, instead of, *simul cum terrestribus armis,* would he not have been deemed to have violated the rules of good grammar, through ignorance, or through neglect?

These specimens are competent to prove to your Royal Highness, that the orthography of grammar, and of writing, has varied in more modern times, and also at present, from the genuine Greek, and Latin standard of classical antiquity. But upon this subject I have expatiated at considerable length, in a Dissertation, which I have prepared, as a requisite Preface to any Herculaneum Manuscript, of which the

learned University of Oxford may direct me to superintend the publication.

Not only the name of the writer, and the bare title of the work, have been discovered at the end of a manuscript, but sometimes there has been found a more detailed title of the work, as in No. 336.* Frequently I met with the number of the volume of the work. This was denoted by letters, as was universally the practice among the Greeks. For instance, ια, *i. e.* eleven, in Number 1042.† In Number 1027,‡ the number of lines is said to be, as expressed by letters, 3238. In Number 1414,§ not only the lines, but, also, the Κολλήματα, or fastenings with cement, (*i. e.* pieces joined together) are mentioned. Of the former, the number, at least the first numeral, or, perhaps, two prior numerals, obliteration has made imperfect. Of

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* Page 37. † Page 36. ‡ Page 37. § Page 38.

the second, the remaining indications are so imperfect, that I have not attempted to conjecture, or even ventured to insert them.

In all the specimens of final inscriptions, which are given in pages 37, and 38, I have designedly exhibited all the vowels, except H, as of a size really less than in the original manuscripts. I thought that I could thus distinguish them better from the consonants, which are all, invariably, capitals. In the greatest part of the original manuscripts, as may be seen by the *fac simile* copies, the vowels, as they are not capitals, rise not to the height of the consonants, except in Philodemus. In the greatest part of *his* manuscripts all the vowels rise to the height of the consonants. Hence his omicron appears to be a capital.

The dialect of the fragments of the eight books of Epicurus is attick; that of Polystratus, and Colotes, is so to a certain degree only. The

dialect of the Treatise upon Anger, I think, is somewhat attick: the language of that Treatise, in general, is superior to all the rest.

If one except the Latin Poem, the subjects of all the manuscripts at Oxford are biographical, or physical, or philological, or moral, or theological. In different places of different works, there are short poetical quotations from lost poets. One quotation from the Odyssey is incalculably precious, because we find, in this quotation, the same language, expression for expression, as in the present editions. The *whole* of the present text, therefore, of the poet, boasts an authenticity of a very remote period, certainly not less than sixteen hundred and thirty-two years, if an illative argument of this nature may be regarded as of weight in this case, which, as purely accidental, is unquestionably freer from cavil, than most other cases. It may be added, with great truth, that all these manuscripts, which

——————————— *nec ignes,*

Nec poterat ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas,

even if the consideration of their high antiquity be excluded, even if no value be affixed to them, as the most legitimate criterions of orthography in the two learned languages, these manuscripts, I must say, are still inestimable, because the compositions, preserved in them, had been supposed to have been irrecoverably lost.

What immense sums are given by the lovers, and protectors, both of ancient and modern literature, for editions of books, whose authors, although in some instances of the greatest celebrity, yet are most familiarly common. In the stall of the bookseller, in the private collection of many individuals, the sentences, or smaller scraps, preserved from the wreck of ancient Greece and Rome, ever command the most partial attention. The most broken chip of Menander would secure any sum

whatsoever, which, however great, yet would scarcely be regarded as an equivalent, from the unsparing hands of the purchaser. Besides, intellectual works are always allowed a more elevated rank, than those of manual art, and yet vases and cameos, and other works of great antiquity, and sometimes of *suspected* antiquity, become, too frequently, an absurdly exorbitant acquisition. Statues are, most undoubtedly, the most valuable among the works of art. In this instance, men of taste submit to the hardest terms of the mercenary antiquarian, so as to obtain possession of an entire, or mutilated, figure, that was formed even in the decline of Greek, and, what is still more, of Roman statuary. In the latter, it is not alone the

. . *Curii jam dimidii, nasoque minores,*

even the statue of an Augustulus, or one of more recent date, would seem to justify, perhaps, the most unconscientious estimate of a " vir-

tuoso." Yet, what should be said of *them*, in comparison with these manuscripts, the most ancient in the known world? A fair calculation, deduced from these editions of books, and from those works of manual art, as contrasted with intellectual, enhance the worth of the manuscripts, now at Oxford, beyond the very enormous calculations, frequently made to me by very respectable foreigners! Had they not been a property, so rich in the high renown of your Royal Highness, or, if I may be permitted to descend so far, had they belonged to the person, who was employed in superintending them, under your Royal authority, that person, most certainly, need not have proposed, because there was repeatedly offered almost any sum, which he could have proposed in his own right, for transferring them to others. But the very idea of a pecuniary valuation of these manuscripts, must make every liberal person feel their great intrin-

sick value, by making him feel, that every idea of that nature, at once both *debases* them, and him, who conceives, and expresses it.

When your Royal Highness was pleased to appoint me to this literary mission, in the year 1800, the Right Honourable Earl Spencer directed the Serapis store ship to convey me to Palermo. But as this ship was obliged to stop at Minorca, the Genereux took me from that island to Genoa, which surrendered to his Majesty's fleet, and Imperial army, a few days after, I came into that Bay. It is, I hope, not to be regarded by your Royal Highness as too inadmissible among the contents of this Letter to mention, from ocular proof, a strange, and almost incredible example of contempt for literature, and of Gothick, or rather Mahometan, outrage, which some soldiers of the French garrison exhibited in the Archiepiscopal Library of Genoa. From many volumes of valuable works in dif-

ferent languages, and from many other volumes, edited in the most superb manner, and magnificently bound, these ruffians had torn many leaves, and parts of leaves, to kindle the tobacco of their pipes.

Lord Keith, on board the Minotaur, received me with all the attention, which was due to a servant of your Royal Highness. In his orders to the Captain of the Sicilian corvette, which was dispatched to Palermo to communicate the surrender of Genoa, the noble Lord did me the honour to require for me from the Captain, who received me on board, the same treatment, as would have been expected for himself. It was the middle of June, when I arrived at Palermo. The late Lord Nelson, with her Sicilian Majesty, and the late Sir William, together with Lady Hamilton, had just quitted it. The Right Honourable Sir Arthur Paget, K. B. then his Majesty's Minister at that

Court, immediately paid all the most attentive deference to your Royal commands, and to the letter, which your Royal Highness yourself had been pleased to condescend to write to him, concerning me, and my mission. General Acton had previously received a duplicate of my dispatches.

After a week or two, during which I experienced every species of most hospitable, most liberal, and most friendly, treatment from Sir Arthur Paget, at Palermo, the Sicilian frigate, Arethusa, was ordered by the Sicilian Court to convey me to Naples, where Prince Cassaro, after the departure of the French from that capital, was Viceroy, and where the Herculaneum Manuscripts, the object of my mission, were supposed, by General Acton, to be.

When I shewed my Credentials, and the Royal Order from Sicily, to the Viceroy, Zurlo, Secretary of State for Case Reali, or Casa Reale,

was present in the apartment. That gentleman, who was a lawyer of ability, with some erudition, informed the astonished Viceroy, that the manuscripts had been during the late disturbances removed to Palermo. This unexpected information, as it would oblige me to return to Sicily, so it excited my immediate curiosity to enquire more about these "reliquias Danaûm," the manuscripts, so very little regarded by the Court, that necessarily, as it was altogether unconscious, *where* they existed, it must have been equally unconscious, *whether* they existed. In the course of this enquiry with Zurlo, and with that La Vega, whom I mentioned before, as Keeper of the Royal Museum, and with others, I found, that the manuscripts had been placed, with the utmost care, in several large chests. In these chests, all the intervals between the respective manuscripts, were separated, one from the other, and were filled properly, as well as most effectually,

against the injuries of violent motion, with large quantities of sawdust; that in this secure state they had been conveyed, at the time the Court retired from Naples, to Palermo. That these "reliquiæ Danaûm" were presented for reception at the Royal Palace; there they were disowned, like a pauper of disputed settlement. Then the Overseers conveyed them to the Royal Magazines at the Mole There, too, they were regarded as inadmissible vagrants, and sent back to the Palace. In this way, these miserable, unacknowledged outcasts were *passed* again to the Magazines, where they luckily gained a settlement, because, at last, some Custom-house Officer, by some strange accident, asked a yawning question, or two, about them, and, in consequence, yet without knowing *what* they were, he settled them in a Magazine, *because* they had been brought from Naples on board the same ship of the line, which had brought their Sicilian Majesties.

After my return to Palermo, Sir Arthur Paget, as soon as he had ascertained the existence, and the locality, of these manuscripts, interfered at the Court, with the most active kindness, and procured a Royal Order for the placing them under my superintendency, and for developing them.

In June, 1801, just before his departure for Vienna, Sir Arthur Paget was authorized by the present Earl of Liverpool, in an official letter, to advance to me, for carrying into execution the development of the manuscripts, twelve hundred pounds, upon the account of Government. But the Sicilian Court had not yet determined what place in Palermo should be allotted for receiving these manuscripts, and for unfolding them. Sir Arthur Paget, to whom I was under great obligations, and for whom I bear most sincere respect, left Palermo, unfortunately, before any thing could be properly arranged in my business.

This gentleman visited England, before he went to Vienna.

How can I express the just acknowledgments due to Sir Arthur Paget, for his unexpected goodness in obtaining for me from Lord Sidmouth, then First Lord of his Majesty's Treasury, a very regular appointment? This he obtained, too, without any previous intimation to any one, that he would do it, and, to my great, and most pleasing surprise, with a retrospective date, from the day, I left England in April 1800. Some months afterwards, indeed, intelligence of this appointment was communicated to me in a letter, which the Right Honourable Mr. Vansittart, then Secretary of the Treasury, did me the honour of writing. This official letter was, in all probability, very different from any official letter, which, either before or since, has been issued from his Majesty's Treasury, by order of the Lords Com-

missioners. That Right Honourable Gentleman, who is an excellent scholar, did me the great credit of testifying his personal satisfaction in my appointment; and, in the same letter, was pleased to furnish me with the learned, and most useful means of conjecture relatively to the author of any nameless manuscript, by a laboured, and correct enumeration of the names, and the subjects of ancient writers, whose works have been lost! It is his unspeakable merit, in this letter, that what he did, he did, *ipse quidem volvendis, transeundisque multis admodum voluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla, in quibus furari otium potuit.*

Robert Waldron, Esq. the private Secretary of the late Minister, was left at Palermo as his Chargè d'Affaires. At his representation to the Sicilian Government, some rooms in the Ex-Jesuit College of San Francesco Saverio were prepared for the purpose of unfolding the manu-

scripts. The three persons, whom I before stated, in this letter, to have been employed under Piaggi, were ordered by the Court to come from Naples, and to be under my direction. Many impediments, however, were raised against the completion of this establishment, by one Vivenzo, a King's Surgeon, who is, perhaps, the most ἄμουσος of all men, and said to be better disposed to the French, than to his Majesty's subjects. This man, who had secured the other parts of the same college for a military hospital, observed, that he had nothing to do with the Prince of Wales, nor with books; he cared for neither, and thought it very hard, he said, and very strange, that for *them* he should be deprived of so much room.

But from this man, and every other senseless difficulty, I was soon released, by the arrival of Sir William Drummond, his Majesty's Minister. His very judicious decision was, that, as he

himself, and the Court, would soon go to Naples, these manuscripts should be replaced in their former situation at the Royal Museum of Portici, which was infinitely more suited to the nature of my undertaking, and where he could forward the progress in the most immediate, and most advantageous manner, by his official authority, protection, and interference. In that museum they began to unfold the manuscripts, which had been all safely conveyed thither from Palermo, the 23d of January, 1802. It must naturally be supposed, as the case is, that the most perfect of the manuscripts were those eighteen, which, as I before observed, were unfolded before my arrival. Piaggi, having the choice of all, for his own sake, had selected the most promising.

General Acton informed me, that M. Alquier, the Ambassador of France, had urged, and continued incessantly to urge, the claim of his Government upon these Herculaneum manu-

scripts. The flattering attention, which this Ambassador paid me, as elsewhere, so at his own house, for his Majesty had just then concluded a peace with France, the high, but merited, compliments, which he took every opportunity of presenting to the name of your Royal Highness in general, and in particular as the Patron of my employment, were at once *inconsistent* in themselves with his demand upon General Acton, and altogether *consistent* with the principles of the French revolutionary school. Sir William Drummond took a silent, but most weighty notice of the conduct of M. Alquier, by *totally counteracting* it. Once, or twice, the Ambassador, with Sir William Drummond, and the Chevalier Souza, the Portuguese Minister, honoured me with their company in the house which his Sicilian Majesty gave me, near the Royal Museum, at a *dejeuné*.

In my Instructions I was said to be nomi-

nated as Superintendent on the part of your Royal Highness; but his Sicilian Majesty made me sole Superintendent, and, also, *Academico Ercolanese.*

The late Colonel La Vega, the Keeper of the Museum, Malesci, the principal Unfolder, assisted by the Prelate Rosini, endeavoured to thwart me in every respect, and, in some respects, actually thwarted me. Malesci had been very forward in the first Revolution of Naples, in favour of the enemy.* This trio would represent to each of the individuals, whom I engaged in this service, that I was an *Eretico.*† It would be irreligious in them to observe me so much as them: that they were not the subjects of his

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* Why this Malesci was not removed from the Museum, as well as Vincenzo Merli, it is difficult to conceive an adequate reason.

† Vide Page 42.

Majesty, but of another Sovereign, who looked with an extremely jealous eye upon the foreign stipends, which they received; that, as to me, I was not of *nobiltà Inglese*, they *ought not*, therefore, to respect me, notwithstanding my Royal Commission. This excellent trio, with numerous other insinuations, that did equal credit to their head, and to their heart, tried, not always successfully, to mislead the unfolders, and the copyists. It ought to be mentioned, and, I trust, with your Royal approbation, that, when I appointed any one to this service, it was my constant rule, whosoever, and how many soever, the candidates were, to give the preference to the son of any person in the service of the Court, if he were equally as well qualified for the purpose as the rest.

The before-mentioned Signor Zurlo, Secretary of State for the Department, under which the Royal Museum was placed, was ever ready

to comply with any request, and substantially attend to any representations, which, through his Majesty's Minister, I made at any time to the Government. But within some few months he was replaced by a man of a very different character, the Chevalier Seratti, much more of whom I shall be obliged to say in a subsequent page of this Letter.

Sir William Drummond, to my great regret, quitted Naples for Constantinople, in the spring of 1803. In the interval, before his successor, Hugh Elliot, Esq. arrived, Mr. A'Court, Secretary of Legation, and Chargè d'Affaires, continued the same mode of payment, which had been practised by Sir William Drummond, for the individuals under my superintendency. If my recollection be not erroneous, this gentleman, during some alarm, occasioned by the supposed intention of the French troops to march towards Naples, after the rupture of the peace between

his Majesty and France, expressed himself much disposed to insist, that should Naples be occupied by the enemy, I should be permitted to take with me to Sicily the whole of the manuscripts, both original, and copies. Hugh Elliot, Esq. his Majesty's new Minister, seemed to entertain some doubts, how far, as he had received no particular instructions from Government, relatively to the Herculaneum Manuscripts, he was authorised to interfere officially with *me*, or *them*. He, therefore, would not put his own signature to a draft upon Government for the expences of the manuscripts; but directed me to give Messrs. Falconet and Co. the draft in my own name, yet to express in the draft, that I drew it by his order. With this direction I complied; yet, I must own, I was apprehensive this draft might be deemed by his Majesty's Government to be some personal presumption, as unofficial.— Besides, I could not divest myself of a firm per-

suasion, that, as I had been commissioned by the Heir Apparent himself, and as, also, I enjoyed an appointment from, and therefore was in the service of, his Majesty's Government; and what is more, as even an Act of Parliament had been passed for disbursing the expences of these manuscripts, my application to his Majesty's *Minister* for *his* draft was not entirely without foundation, and could not be taxed with much impropriety.

As at the commencement of the year 1806, it was well known that his Sicilian Majesty intended to leave Naples, and that the Queen, and the Royal Family, would also be obliged soon afterwards to leave it, I thought it my duty to solicit the official interposition of his Majesty's Minister for the removal of the manuscripts, both originals, and copies. The want of instruction from Government for that purpose, I was told, still prevented his official interposition; at

the same time his Majesty's Minister directed *me* to go in *his name* to the Chevalier Seratti, with a representation of the necessity, there was to remove these objects. This Secretary of State, instead of entering immediately into the subject of my visit, chose, with great violence, and with foaming mouth, and in the most unjustifiable terms, to heap upon me, whose mission was certainly not at all political, the most heavy invectives against his Majesty's forces, which had been landed at Naples. At last, having, in the course of an half hour, most amply vented his rage, he returned, in a softened tone, to the cause of my visit: he assured me, that removal would injure the original "Papiri," and was besides not necessary; "we shall soon be at Naples again"

After the departure of the King, the Hereditary Prince was Regent of the kingdom. For the same reason, and in the same manner, as his

Majesty's Minister had not yet received instructions, I was directed to wait upon his Royal Highness, who informed me, that the King, at the time of his departure, in which he was accompanied by the Chevalier Seratti, had given strict orders for *not* removing the manuscripts. From these orders the Regent could not deviate. It must be confessed, the political character of Chevalier Seratti was generally regarded as not favourable to the interests of Great Britain, but strongly inclining to the French party. Whatever may be the truth, *I* must have some right to question his good faith, at least, when

Nec cineri servata Fides. . . . .

The Chevalier de´ Medici succeeded the Chevalier Seratti in office. The Monday before our flight from Naples, in February, 1806, I was again directed, upon my application to his Majesty's Minister, who had not yet received his instructions, to go to the new Secretary of State.

The Chevalier, who was not then, it should seem, in the secret, desired I would, in his name, order Pirro Paderni, who had succeeded La Vega, as Keeper of the Royal Museum, immediately to prepare all the "Papiri" for removal. This I did about noon that very day. Pirro Paderni expressed much alacrity in his apparent readiness to execute this order; but he told me, that he would go that very afternoon to the Secretary of State, from whom, for his own security, after the orders of the King, he must in person receive a written command for the purpose. The whole scene was then shifted. The next morning I was informed, the orders of the King, with regard to these manuscripts, were in revived force. What else could be expected? Your Royal Highness may be pleased to consider that the Chevalier Seratti, and *others still higher*, who were never suspected of *too much Anglicism*, would, in the instance of these manu-

scripts, avail themselves of every circumstance, that seemed to justify a non-compliance with the demands of your Royal Highness's Superintendent. The circumstance, that his Majesty's Minister would not officially, much less urgently, insist upon the removal of the manuscripts, gave the party, who opposed that removal, a fair pretext for that opposition. This party said, and *I heard* it repeated, that this removal could not have been wished by Government, otherwise his Majesty's Minister would have interposed. So far this party may be thought to be supported by some justification, provided your Royal Highness could, for a moment, be reconciled to the measure of abandoning to the common enemy those objects. *For* the acquisition of *them* a person had been sent to Naples, under your own Royal Commission, and received in that character by the Neapolitan Court. *In* the acquisition of *them* that person had several years

employed the most continual, and the most embarrassing study, and fatigue, and at the expence of his Majesty's Government, and under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, in the Kingdom of a Sovereign, who is under the most essential obligations to Great Britain. With the beforementioned pretext, however, not only *all* the original manuscripts, which would be injured, it was said, by removal, but even the engraved* *fac simile* copies of some books of Epicurus, unfolded during my superintendency, (and surely these *could not* be injured by removal) were abandoned to the common enemy. Besides, this pretext enabled two different parties to secure the attainment of their wishes, directed

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* The Neapolitan Government would never permit me to pay the expences, which attended the engraving. This apparent liberality was eventually proved to be, in the utmost sense of the expression, Δῶρον ἄδωρον.

as they were, upon different motives, to the same end. The one branch consisted in those men, who would not follow the Court to Sicily. These men must have been eager to retain at Naples all the Royal property, which would gratify thei new masters, and secure for themselves, to any degree, means of indulgence, or protection. The other branch consisted of those, who had been employed about these manuscripts; Rosini, Peter la Vega, the unfolders,* and the copyists, wished to retain, as, *in fact*, they retain, the same employment under the French. Both these branches of the same party, protected by the Queen, obtained, through Seratti, the King's order for not removing these manuscripts, nor those engraved *fac simile* copies. To these motives must be added another, if I may call *indif-*

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* With the exception of Camillo, and Francesco Paderni, who went to Palermo.

ference a motive, for relinquishing these manuscripts. This indifference of men in the two Sicilies with regard to literature in general, and therefore with regard to these manuscripts, is remarkable. For instance, a Marquis Berio, with whom I was well acquainted, had one of the best libraries in the world. He possessed the reputation of learning, and of the encouragement of the learned. This eminent *Letterato*, in the frequent visits he made me at Portici, would always come to my own house, to the Museum never. A man of that country, now high in office at Palermo, asked me, whether the text of those *famosi papiri* were not Arabick.

More than two hundred "Papiri" had been opened wholly, or in part, during my stay at Naples. The experience of every day had added infinite facility, and skill, with accurate, and secure, but rapid dexterity, to each unfolder, and copyist. Hence, with these increasing

advantages, every one of the remaining fifteen hundred, or as many of them as could be opened, would be opened, and copied, it was reasonably, and universally calculated, within the space of six years at the most. The enemy can, therefore, in addition to the original manuscripts themselves, enjoy the advantage of this improved skill in the persons, whom I employed about them.

When I retired with the *fac simile* copies alone, in February, 1806, from Naples to Palermo, there I remained, as it was my duty to remain, until I should be honoured with your Royal commands* for my return to England. Besides, as it was thus incumbent upon me to stay, so, while I stayed, I was continually flat-

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* An exact copy of the letter, in which those commands were communicated to me at Alcamo, by Lord Amherst, his Majesty's Minister at that time, is inserted as follows :

tered with the hopes of resuming my superintendency of the manuscripts at Portici. For some time the Court, as it was generally said, was in expectation of a counter-revolution in its favour at Naples.

During my residence at Palermo, I composed and printed a Latin Poem, entitled Herculaneum, humbly addressed to your Royal Highness. This Poem will not be published

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" *Palermo,*

" 16*th July*, 1809.

" SIR,

" THE bearer of this letter, Mr. Hunter, jun. a King's Messenger, is sent to you by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with instructions respecting your return to England. I doubt not that you will pay due obedience to his Royal Highness's commands.

" I am, SIR,

" Your obedient, humble Servant,

" AMHERST.

" *The Reverend*

" *John Hayter.*"

here for the present, because the subject for the Prize Exercises this year in the University of Oxford is the very same with that of my Poem. This point of requisite delicacy was suggested to me by Mr. Tyrwhitt, a gentleman, who, as he is high in the service, and is, in every respect, a most disinterested, unalterably attached, and faithful servant of your Royal Highness, so, in receiving, and executing all your Royal Commands, concerning these Herculaneum Manuscripts, has ever displayed the most zealous, most uniform, and most laudable, attention.

At Palermo it was in vain that I applied to the Chevalier Seratti to obtain permission to have for my use, and with a view to publication, a single manuscript, that is, a single *fac simile* copy, of all the *fac simile* copies, which were brought from Naples, although they had been unfolded, and copied, under my direction, and although they had all been corrected, and many

of them had been interpreted, and translated, by myself. This Minister of State wished, as he had with the most corrupt, and most indecorous misconduct, contributed, to deprive your Royal Highness of all the original manuscripts, and of some of the most valuable engraved *fac simile* copies, to have been also as successfully guilty with regard to all those *fac simile* copies. The auspicious return of the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond, his Majesty's Minister at that Court, this second time the successor, as the first time the predecessor, of Hugh Elliot, Esq., defeated all the intentions of the Chevalier Seratti. The Chevalier de' Medici, the successor of the Chevalier Seratti, complied at once with the demands of Sir William Drummond, and consigned to him, by order of the King, all the *fac simile* copies, which are now at Oxford. Of these, the Treatise upon Death, and the Fragment of the

Latin Poem, together with the Greek and Latin Alphabets, were immediately engraved under my superintendency at Palermo.

Permit me now, SIR, to express the proud satisfaction, I feel, that your Royal Highness deigns to accept, with gracious indulgence, this account of my Herculaneum Mission, of its nature, of its progress, and its result. That progress was arrested;—that result was rendered less important, and *less* productive, by the invasion of the enemy, and by the misconduct of friends. Yet, in this general cause, and interest of literature, your Royal Highness has been pleased to give to the University of Oxford, and, through that University, to the world, most convincing proofs, convincing both by their number, and in their intrinsick value, that the result of my mission, in spite of many unfavourable circumstances, is more satisfactory, than could have been expected. Mankind, at least,

must be of opinion, that the Patronage of this general cause, and interest, was not unsuitable to the exalted Dignity of the Heir Apparent of the British Empire. In the impartial judgment, and register of posterity, in the bright annals of true renown, the name of your Royal Highness will be inseparably associated with this general cause, and interest of reason, and of knowledge, and will be indelibly recorded.

With the most devoted sentiments of loyalty, I humbly beg permission to subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's most dutiful,

And most faithful Servant,

JOHN HAYTER,

LONDON,

April 20th, 1811.

APPENDIX.

HERCULANEUM.*

O! Regni, et Britonum spes altera, maxime
Princeps,
Cui genus excelsum, Georgique insignius astro
Effulget procul, et medio caput æthere condit,
Tu carmen ne sperne, precor, ne vota canentis:
Auspiciis et siqua tuis tibi florea texam
Serta legens studio memori, quot millia pingit
Sebeti ad sacros latices Acheloia Musæ
Filia Parthenope, quamvis indigna ferentem

* The Exordium of the Poem, see page 104.

Excipias vultu præsenti. Munera Vates
Quis Tibi digna feret! magni quin Nominis obstat
Et Decus, et Virtus, et inani dejicit auso.
O! si Mæonio possem te dicere versu,
Augustamque pari famam resonare camænâ,
Tunc canerem, quanto quæ gratia! qui decor oris!
Quot mille incessu veneres, quot mille loquenti
Arrident lepidæ, corpusque per omne viriles
Ornatus blando placituros lumine fundunt!
Tu quanto, Gradivi instar, molimine belli
Instrumenta cies, siquando animosa cupido
Laudis in arma rapit, patriâque accendit inultâ!
Quàm Peditum instructas acies, Equitumque catervas
Ducisque innumeros, subitoque reducis in orbes
Imperio exercens agili! Quàm Tu obvius hosti
Ire paras, populo invito! nam carior illi
Vita tua est, Gallis quam gloria parta subactis.
Tu procerum, et vulgi fido discrimine vindex

Jura foves, Legesque sacras, civiliter æquus,
Et fas, et morem cultu, normâque tueris.
Sed Tibi præcipuâ dulces ante omnia Musæ
Pertentant animum curâ, positasque resumunt,
Te revocante, lyras, quamquam formidine vexet
Gallorum furor, et convulso terreat Orbi.
Ipse Tuo emensus longi maris æquora jussu
Euboici demùm consedi ad littoris oram
Sarrasten, Graiosque Phlegræâ in sede colonos,
Ut peragrem Argolicas loca per combusta Vesevi
Relliquias: ut pumiceo conclusa sepulcro
Herculeæ monumenta urbis, doctasque favillas
Imis eripiam tenebris, molique Typhææ.

A NEW EDITION

OF THE

FIRST LETTER,

ADDRESSED, WITH PERMISSION,

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

A NEW EDITION

OF THE

FIRST LETTER,

ADDRESSED, WITH PERMISSION,

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

PREFATORY REMARK

UPON

THIS NEW EDITION.

In this Letter, when a very limited number of its copies was published, before my departure in 1800, there were some errors, occasioned by the want of requisite accuracy in those to whom I was referred in this country, for the most authentick information. These errors I am commanded, because personal observation enables me, to correct; and thus corrected, and republished, this Letter is only preparatory to the publication of a second Letter, addressed, with permission, to the same illustrious Personage, and containing a narrative of all which either has been done, or has occurred in the prosecution of this laborious, and difficult undertaking.

TO

THE PRINCE.

——— sit Numine vestro
Pandere res altâ terrâ, et caligine mersas. VIR.

SIR,

IT is with the most humble sense of duty and respect, that I solicit the honour of being permitted to lay before your Royal Highness these few pages, which embrace, in a short, and summary account, the whole object of your very important design. May your Royal Highness deign to accept this Paper, as the first fruits, as it were, of the mission, to which you have been most graciously pleased to appoint me, and as a tributary pledge of the zeal and assiduity, with which I shall never cease to be actuated in

obeying your Commands, while I endeavour to merit, in some degree, this distinguished mark of your Patronage, by employing my utmost abilities for the accomplishment of a design, not only originating from your own judgment and intuition, but, in its execution, involving the honour of your Royal Highness, as well as the interests of learning, and the hopes of the learned.

The numerous settlements of the Greeks in Italy, received the name of Magna Græcia, because their mother country was of a size considerably less than that, in which they were planted: among these were nearly all the cities in the Province of Campania, including Naples, the capital of his Sicilian Majesty, and, also, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, which are supposed to boast a foundation coeval with Hercules himself, three thousand and fifty years ago, or twelve hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra. This Province, more than any other part of

Magna Græcia, was always celebrated for the studious and successful cultivation of the Arts and Sciences. The two Cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii ranked next to that of Naples in every respect, as places of considerable note; they had their public theatres, with every other attendant, of great population, splendour, opulence, and general prosperity. These, in common with all the rest of Campania, became the elegant and favourite resort of the Romans, for the different purposes of health, luxury, repose, and erudition.

In the ninth year of Nero's reign,* these two cities experienced a most formidable shock from an earthquake, which overthrew a great

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* U. C. 816.
A. D. 63.
Caius Memmius Regulus,
Lucius Virginius Rufus, Consuls.

part of them. Nor had they recovered altogether from the effects of this calamity by their exertions, and the aid of Imperial munificence, when a second calamity, of a different nature, but equally unexpected, consigned them both at once to the most complete oblivion. This calamity was the great eruption of Vesuvius, which happened on the 24th day of August, two full months from the accession of the Emperor Titus Vespasian.* Herculaneum was buried under a mass of heavy volcanick matter, to the depth, in some places, of seventy feet; while Pompeii and Stabiæ, being more distant from the mountain, were overwhelmed principally with a shower of ashes, nor in any place to any considerable

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* U. C. 832.
A. D. 79.
Flavius Vespasianus 9.
Titus Vespasianus 8. Consuls.

depth. But the fate of the two first was sudden and inevitable; and yet it appears, that almost all of the inhabitants, and what is an equally surprising circumstance, more of the Herculaneans, than the Pompeians escaped. Besides a few other skeletons, there have been found in the cellar of a villa beyond the northern gate of Pompeii eighteen skeletons; and thus, by the paucity of their number, the relation of Dio Cassius, who states the destruction of the people, while assembled at the theatre, is proved to be totally erroneous. It may be proper to remark, that, before this eruption, the whole of Vesuvius was in a state of cultivation and fertility, from the top to the bottom; and though the form and soil of the mountain, in one particular spot, seemed to denote the traces of some former explosion, yet no extant memorial of any kind had recorded it.

Neither of these two cities was discovered

again till a long period of more than sixteen centuries. It was at the beginning of the last century, that some labourers, by order of the Prince d'Elbeuf, proprietor of the territory, in sinking a well, struck their tools against a statue, which was on a bench in the theatre of Herculaneum. Some years afterwards, Pompeii was discovered with much less difficulty, as the incumbent stratum was neither so hard, nor so deep as that of the former city.

The whole number of the manuscripts saved from Herculaneum,* is to the amount of eighteen hundred, if I am rightly informed by those, whose official situation must give them a competent knowledge of the subject. Your

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* Some remains of manuscripts found in Pompeii, in the Museum at Portici, are totally white, and without a single character. The slight, loose, thin stratum of ashes could not preserve them from the effects of rain, and other moisture.

Royal Highness, by facilitating the developement of those volumes, will, probably, be the means of further excavation, and of rescuing from their interment an infinite quantity of others. Nearly fifty years ago, his Sicilian Majesty ordered the developement, the transcription, and the publication of the volumes, which had then been saved, to be undertaken. This operation was accordingly begun, and has never been discontinued till the late invasion of the French. But its mode, however excellent, was extremely slow; it has been performed by a single person in general, and never by more than two or three persons, under the direction of the Royal Herculaneum Academy, whose President is always the Secretary of State for the Department of the "Case Reali."

The frames are square, and of wood, supported by four legs. The sides are close; but a hole in the bottom admits some ribands, to

which a proportionable weight is appended for securing each respective manuscript steadily in the circles of brass fixed upon the heads of two steel upright pieces in the inside of the bottom, at a distance from each other, suitable to the several lengths of the different manuscripts; in these, indeed, some little variation of lengths is found. Upon the top of the frames, some screws are placed, and turn the silken threads, which descend to the gold-beater's skin upon the surface of the manuscripts: to this skin they are fastened with gum and water; but the skin, which thus lines the surface, is cut into many small pieces; and, before fastening these pieces, the surface is narrowly examined by the unfolder, with the assistance of a magnifying-glass, in order not to place any of those pieces over the numberless chasms, or holes, produced in the surface by the volcanick materials, by lapse of time, or other accidental, or incidental, circum-

stance. The pieces are attached with glue and water, and, therefore, if, through neglect, or from undiscernible minuteness, they should be laid on any such chasm, or hole, they would forcibly raise all the portion of a manuscript, to the whole depth of the chasm, or hole, and injure, or destroy the manuscript itself. From the operation of thus cautiously proceeding to open the manuscript, the unfolder advances to separate such destined portion of the surface at the edge itself, with an instrument like an awl, and the said portion, thus partially separated at the edge only, is then totally disclosed, and raised to view, by turning the screws above, and drawing the silken threads.

This process, so suited to the double purpose of unfolding the substance, and, at the same time, of holding together its frail and crumbling texture, was invented by a Monk, called Piaggi, procured by Charles III. King of

Naples, from the Pope, to whom he was sub-librarian. He was a man of great mechanical genius, but of no erudition, and, therefore, each unfolded portion was delivered by him to the celebrated Mazzochi, the Bentley of Naples, and author of that inestimable work, the Treatise upon the Heraclean Tables. The first manuscript, which was unfolded, was the Treatise upon Musick, prepared by Mazzochi for publication, as we now see it. Not more than seventeen others were unfolded in a space of more than forty years. That upon Musick, and no other, was ever published. This is in the Library of his Majesty, where, through the obliging politeness of Mr. Barnard, the King's Librarian, I have had the advantage of perusing it. Indeed, I hope your Royal Highness will not disapprove my acknowledging, in this place, the very warm and respectful interest, which both this gentleman, and the Right Honourable the

President of the Royal Society,* have expressed for the furtherance of your Royal Highness's great and good design. Meanwhile, by this Specimen of Philodemus, I am convinced, that if the frames should be multiplied to the proposed extent, several pages of thirty different manuscripts might be disclosed, and transcribed within the space of one year, or, perhaps, sooner.

But the very period, at which the manuscripts were buried, serves to point out to your Royal Highness, that you may expect the recovery of either the whole, or, at least, parts of

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* It was suggested by Sir Joseph Banks, that from the nature of the ancient *atramentum*, which, perhaps, was not so much an ink as a paint, and from the materials of these manuscripts, there may be derived a chance of applying a chemical process to this developement of the cinders, with increased expedition and effect. The suggestion is of the first importance; hereafter there may be an opportunity of ascertaining its utility by experiment.

the best writers in antiquity, hitherto deemed irrecoverable. All of these, in truth, had been written before that period, if we except Tacitus, whose inestimable works were, unfortunately, not composed till twenty years afterwards, during the reign of Trajan.

Nor can it be imagined for a moment, that among eighteen hundred manuscripts, already discovered, and especially from the numberless ones, which further excavations may supply, lost at such a period in one of the most capital cities, in the richest, most frequented, and most learned province of Italy, an established seat of the Arts and Sciences, the resort of the most distinguished Romans, not any part of those illustrious authors should be discovered.

But the Manuscript of Philodemus itself, makes the reverse of such an idea appear much more probable. To the moderns, who have

> " Untwisted all the chains, that tie
> " The hidden soul of harmony,"

his Treatise on Musick cannot, indeed, be supposed to communicate much information; yet the subject is scientific, and scientifically treated. The author himself, too, was one of the most eminent men, in his time, for wit, learning, and philosophy. But in the rest of the arts* and sciences, in history, in poetry, the discovery of any lost writer, either in whole, or in part, would be deemed a most valuable acquisition, and treasure, and form a new æra in literature.

It is extremely fortunate, that the characters† of these manuscripts, whether they should be Greek, or Latin, must be very obvious and legible. Before the year of our Lord

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* Particularly the ancient mode of cementing in architecture, and on proportions in sculpture and painting.

† One of the principal difficulties in copying these manuscripts, appears to consist in supplying the proper letters, or words, at the different chasms.

79, and some time after it, the *majusculæ*, or *unciales litteræ*, capital letters, were solely used. A page, therefore, in one of these manuscripts, would present to your Royal Highness an exact image of some mutilated inscription in those languages, on an ancient column, statue, or sepulchre.

There cannot remain a doubt, even omitting the assurances from men of official situation to that effect, that your Royal Highness's Superintendent will receive every possible assistance from the Royal Herculaneum Academy, and the Neapolitan Government; and in that case it seems improbable, that the object of this mission can be altogether fruitless.

With such a termination of it, however, your Royal Highness, by having proposed to concur with his Sicilian Majesty in the quicker, and more effectual developement, transcription, and publication, of these manuscripts, will reap

the satisfaction of having made a most princely attempt in behalf of knowledge and literature, upon an occasion where their interests might be affected most materially, and in a manner, of which no annals have afforded, or can hereafter afford, an example. Even the manuscript of Thecla, the world will recollect, notwithstanding some disputes about the exact date of its antiquity, has been deemed invaluable, more particularly as corroborating the authority of all the sacred writings, which it embraces. The celebrated Montfaucon, so long engaged in quest of some ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts, especially the latter, thought the motive alone of his researches, however fruitless, repaid, with competent gratification of conscious merit, all his literary toil and exertions. In the present instance, also, your Royal Highness's very interposition will be your glory: your want of suc-

cess will only make the learned world feel with gratitude, what you would have done.

This imperfect Narrative seemed the only method in my power, of submitting to your Royal Highness a sketch of those facts, which have given rise to the present Mission; and I shall esteem myself highly honoured, if your Royal Highness would graciously condescend to accept it.

Permit me to subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's most dutiful,

Obliged, and devoted Servant,

JOHN HAYTER.

March 20th, 1800.

Neele Sculp.t Strand.

London Published April 22.d 1818 by Richard Phillips, N.o 7 New Bridge Street.

Neele Sculp! Strand.

London Published April 22nd 1811. by Richard Phillips No 7 New Bridge Street.

Neele Sculp.t Strand.

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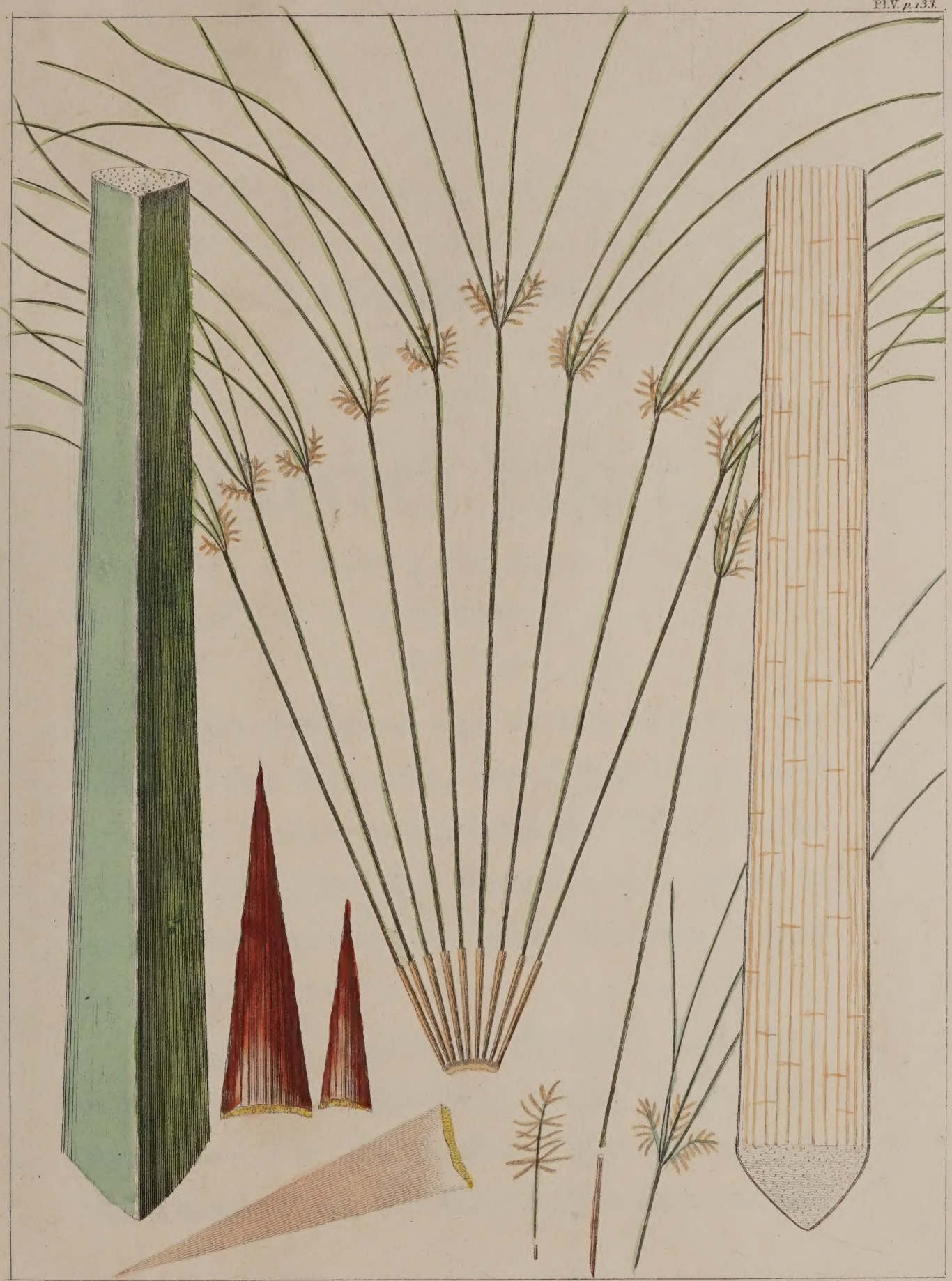

Neele Sculp: Strand.

London Published April 22d 1811 by Richard Phillips. N.o 7 New Bridge Street.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PAPYRUS PLANT.

THE respective Drawings of the Papyrus, inserted in this Appendix, are of that Plant, as it grows in Sicily, near Syracuse. What I have said in page 32 of the Second Letter, seems to make the insertion of these drawings almost necessary.

The late ingenious Chevalier Landolini, whom I have mentioned in a note of the same page, has from the Sicilian Papyrus manufactured a substance, of which I have seen a *written*

specimen in the Royal Museum at Portici. By repeated experiments upon other specimens I have found, that modern paper itself is not much better adapted to the purpose of writing, than this substance. Hence the Chevalier, in an Italian manuscript Essay, now at Oxford, concludes, from arguments of much weight at least, should they not appear convincing to others, as well as to myself, that this Sicilian Papyrus is the same* with that of Ægypt, as described by Theophrastus, and Pliny.† The same plant grows in the *Flora* at Palermo, where it was, I think, much neglected.

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* A contrary position is fairly stated by the learned Author of the articles "Paper," and "Papyrus," in the Encyclopædia Britannica. To that work I must refer, except for the original, and translation of Theophrastus, De Plantis, lib. 4, which I have inserted in this place.

† To these you may add Cassiodorus.

In Theophrastus, Lib. 4, De Plantis, the Papyrus is described as one of the three Ægyptian plants, which, (he says) amongst an infinite number of others of that kind, in the same country, are the sweetest, and the most nutritive. Φύεται δὲ ο πάπυρος οὐκ ἐν βάθει τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐν δύο πήχεσιν ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐλάττονι. Πάχος μέν οὖν τῆς ῥίζης καρπὸς ἀνδρός ἐυρώστου. Μῆκος δε ὑπὲρ δέκα πήχεις· φύεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς πλαγίας ῥίζας εἰς τὸν πηλὸν καθιεῖσα λεπτὰς καὶ πυκνὰς, ἀνω δὲ τοὺς παπύρους καλουμένους τριγώνους μέγεθος ὡς τετραπήχεις κόμην ἔχοντας ἀχρέιαν καὶ ἀσθενῆ, καρπὸν δὲ ὅλως οὐδένα. Τούτους δ' ἀναδίδωσι κατὰ πολλὰ μερῆ. Χρῶνται δε ταῖς μὲν ῥίζαις ἀντὶ ξύλων οὐ μόνον τῶ καίειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκέυη ἄλλα ποιεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παντοδαπὰ. Πολὺ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ξύλον καὶ καλόν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ πάπυρος πρὸς πλείστα χρήσιμος· καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κάι ἐκ τῆς βίβλου ἱστία τε πλέκουσι καὶ Ψιάθους καὶ ἐσθῆτας τινας καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ σχοινία τε καὶ ἕτερα πλείω. Καὶ ἐμφανέστατα δὴ τοῖς ἔξω τὰ βίβλια Μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πλείστη βοήθεια πρός την τροφὴν ἀπ ἀυτοῦ γίνεται. Μασῶνται γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ ἐν τῆ

χώρᾳ πάπυρον καὶ ὠμὸν καὶ ἐφθὸν καὶ ὀπτὸν. Καὶ τὸν μὲν χυλὸν καταπίνουσιν. Τὸ δ' μάσημα ἐκβάλλουσιν. Ὁ μὲν δὴν πάπυρος τοιοῦτος τε καὶ τοιάυτας παρέχεται τὰς χρείας.

"The Papyrus grows not to a *whole*, but about two cubits, and sometime less, depth of water. Moreover the thickness of its root is equal to the wrist of a stout man, and its height more than ten cubits. It grows, however, above the ground itself, while it shoots, *below*, oblique, slender, and numerously-crowded fibres, into the mud, and, *above*, the papyrus's, as they are called, of a triangular form, not less in measure than four cubits, or thereabout, with an unserviceable, feeble leaf, and totally without fruit of any kind, and it produces these (papyrus's) in many parts. But, instead of wood, they use not only the fibres for fuel, but also make from (the whole plant) itself utensils of every species, quite different, (from fuel) because the plant has woody materials in great quantity, and of good ap-

pearance. In truth, the Papyrus itself* is serviceable for very many things, as they form out of it vessels for navigation; besides that, from its rind they form not only sails, but mats, and certain dresses, and coverings, and even ropes, and many other things, and books,† which are, indeed, the most distinguished by the attention of foreigners. But, what is the greatest circumstance of all, it yields even a considerable supply for nutriment, for every one in the country chews the Papyrus, as well in a raw, as in a boiled, and roasted state; and they swallow, indeed, the juice, but eject the cud. The Papyrus, in a word, is of such a nature, and from itself supplies useful objects of such a quality.

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* In its whole bulk, and stock, as distinguished from the roots, and branches.

† The force of the original βίβλια, books, and βίβλος, rind, or bark, must be lost in a translation.

A BRIEF REMARK

UPON THE

HERCULANENSIA.

As the Manuscript Περὶ τῶν Θεῶν, published in the *Herculanensia*, dedicated to his Royal Highness the Prince, was decyphered, and its *lacunæ* filled up by me, it may be proper, that I just advert to it in this Appendix of my Letter, addressed to his Royal Highness.

It has given me some pain, not unmingled with surprise, to observe the criticisms which have been made on this Manuscript in some of the Reviews. The Authors of the *Herculanensia* were absent, as they themselves have assured me, from London, when the greatest part of that

book was re-printed from a copy already printed at Palermo, in which the errors of the press were innumerable. Many of those errors have, unfortunately, been retained in the edition printed at London, where there was no person but the printer himself to correct the press. I then saw, with grief, much critical hostility directed against manifest errors of the press, and I lamented to see so much anger, and so much erudition, expended on blunders, that every scholar could amend, and every school-boy could detect. I flattered myself that these instances of false orthography in Greek would have been attributed to the errors of the press, and not to the author of the Supplements. In one page of the *Herculanensia*, Tarquinius Priscus is called the *sun* of a Corinthian. Now, really, I should have as soon have thought of hearing a critic calling out to Mr. Walpole, a man of profound learning, that he had made a great mistake in

writing *sun* for *son*, as of being myself attacked with the remarks, that I had written ויא]א for ויא]א, &c. &c. There may be, and there probably are, wrong conjectures in my Supplements; but I ought not to repent of having discharged the duties, which his Royal Highness has so graciously imposed upon me, in consequence of any objections that may have been raised against mere errors of the press.

FINIS.

G. Sidney, Printer,
Northumberland Street, Strand, London.